SECTION 2

THE FINDS

CHAPTER 3

INTRODUCTION AND THE PREHISTORIC FINDS

By Michael Fulford, Richard Bradley and Emma Durham

The publication of the 1980s forum basilica excavation embraced all periods, both Iron Age and Roman, and all finds, irrespective of whether they derived from possible or certain residual contexts, were published. However, it was clear that among those categories of material which had clear associations with the pre-conquest period, such as brooches, coins, coin/pellet moulds and pottery, many finds were residual. Corney observed that only about one third of all probable pre-conquest brooches, 12 out of a possible 41, were stratified in contexts of Periods 1 and 2 (Corney 2000, 322). Similarly, of the 20 Iron Age coins, only three were stratified in pre-conquest deposits (Boon 2000, 133–6), while only two of 21 fragments of coin/pellet mould were stratified in Periods 1 and 2 (Northover and Palk 2000, 414–15). Timby noted (2000a, 199) that 93 per cent of the total assemblage of *terra rubra* and *terra nigra* by sherd number derived from Period 3, dated *c.* A.D. 40–60.

The approach to the publication of Insula IX has been to devote separate volumes to each major period of occupation, hence this volume is dedicated to reporting the late Iron Age occupation. In this context it seems appropriate to publish together all the examples found in Insula IX of those categories of find which have an established association with the pre-conquest period: Iron Age coins, brooches and coin/pellet moulds, rather than split their reporting between this and the following volume which will focus on the post-conquest, pre-Flavian occupation of Insula IX. Only two of the 25 Iron Age coins are certainly from pre-conquest contexts (p. 85), while only some 20 (12.5 per cent) of the pre-conquest brooches were deposited before or around the conquest. Although 10 (38 per cent) of the 26 fragments of coin/pellet moulds are from pre-conquest contexts, the majority are from later deposits. Aside from the arretine (red-slipped table ware manufactured at various locations in Italy and France before the Claudian period), the exception to this approach is the pottery, where the assemblage sizes are far greater, and there are significant difficulties in confidently distinguishing between pre- and post-conquest through the full range of the pottery. In the case of the arretine, Joanna Bird has brought together not only all the stamped and decorated examples from Insula IX, but all of this type of material from both Calleva and Britain as a whole, including a complete catalogue of arretine stamps (Table 70). We have included also the small quantity of glass which was certainly or probably imported before the conquest. In making these selections we do not mean to imply that some Iron Age coins were not used and lost in Calleva after A.D. 43, nor that some brooches manufactured before A.D. 43 were not worn and lost later, but that an inclusive approach to their publication contributes to a better understanding of pre-conquest material culture at Calleva. Equally, the metal-working practice which required the use of coin/pellet moulds may have continued in the Claudio-Neronian period. Ambiguities are well brought out by the gem and the finger-ring published here (p. 126). The former, though likely to have been manufactured before the A.D. 40s, was deposited in a context which is likely to date to around the conquest period. Was it lost by a Callevan after long wear, or by an incomer in the A.D. 40s? The latter, the iron ring finally deposited in a third-century context, may have been a Callevan heirloom or an article only introduced to the town after the conquest.

With all the types of artefacts where there is general agreement on a pre-conquest date for

their manufacture, the majority of examples from Insula IX are from residual contexts, a mirror of the situation at the forum basilica site. In so far as it limits our understanding of all aspects of life within the *oppidum*, residuality is clearly a major problem with the late Iron Age and, as observed in Chapter 1, this is very much a function of the small number of substantial late Iron Age cut-features. With the exception of Ditch 11631, only Well 10421 and a handful of pits contain substantial pre-conquest assemblages. Rubbish lay around on the surface of the ground, occasionally being scraped up and deposited in cut features, as the sequence of fills of Ditch 11631 identified by micromorphology (Ch. 21) indicates. This means that distinctions between pre- and post-conquest cannot easily be made with less typologically distinctive artefacts, such as, for example, spindlewhorls, mostly made from pierced pottery discs. While it is possible that examples made in typical pre-conquest fabrics like Silchester ware were made and used before A.D. 43, there can be no certainty. Consequently, there will be separate reports on them in this and subsequent volumes. Nevertheless, on the basis of the proportions of the typologically distinctive Iron Age artefacts (recovered from residual contexts) to those from stratified pre-conquest contexts, we can reasonably argue that the assemblage of pre-conquest spindlewhorls (or pierced pottery discs) is under-represented by ratios of between 1.6:1 and 7:1. The same could just as well also apply to the querns or iron artefacts.

We also need to be alert to the probability that entire categories of artefact which were originally part of the pre-conquest finds assemblage are residual in post-conquest contexts. There are 12 Roman regular and irregular coins which pre-date A.D. 41, either unstratified or stratified in post-conquest contexts, all of which could well have arrived after the conquest, but, equally, more than half may have reached Calleva before A.D. 43. In this case all of them will be reported in the next volume which will be devoted to Period 1. To take another example, it is generally assumed that items of military equipment, particularly of arms and armour with recognised associations with the Roman army, are all in-period in post-conquest deposits. However, the discovery, largely as a product of the intensive sieving programme carried out on Insula IX, of hobnails stratified in the earliest pre-conquest deposits in Ditch 11631 (below, p. 116) raises a question about whether some of the items of military equipment from Claudio-Neronian contexts are residual from the pre-conquest occupation. In broad principle, the debate about what may or may not be attributable to the pre-conquest occupation of Calleva can be opened up to include all items of typologically distinctive material culture, whether coins, dress items, like Aucissa brooches, or military equipment, where continental evidence shows their circulation across the Channel before A.D. 43.

THE WORKED FLINT

By Richard Bradley

Excavation recovered a small quantity of worked flints, not all of which could be identified with any confidence because of mechanical damage caused by the late Iron Age and Roman occupations (Table 2). The small size of many of the pieces — the commonest items were spalls — suggests a higher proportion could be recognised in excavation than during field-walking around the Roman town (see Ford and Hopkins 2011). In contrast to that collection, it is unlikely that any of these pieces had been struck by the plough.

Where any evidence survived, roughly equal quantities of raw material had been obtained from the chalk and from the local gravels, but there is nothing to suggest that these sources were used during different periods. Most of the flakes were small, indicating that the parent nodules had been worked right down. There was one hammerstone and no convincing core. The excavated material contains very few cortical flakes and none seems to result from trimming nodules as building material during the Roman period. It is likely that this small collection results from the production and maintenance of artefacts on an occasional basis. At least three had been retouched to make knives or scrapers and another four showed edge damage that could have been caused during use. This is likely to be an under-estimate as a number of flakes were broken or crushed during later activity.

It is unlikely that this material was deposited during a single period. Five broad blades or

bladelike flakes might date from the Mesolithic phase. One of the spalls had a blunted edge which recalls the treatment of a microlith, but it was not a finished form. Otherwise it is much more likely that these pieces date from the early part of the Neolithic period. The polished axe (FIG. 52, SF 4022) should be contemporary with them. It had obviously been used for a long time and showed clear signs of re-sharpening. The only other diagnostic item was a fine barbed and tanged arrowhead (FIG. 52, SF 7728) which dates from the Copper Age/early Bronze Age and was stratified in Pit 16546 in Pit Group 9. The remaining material is nondescript and could be later than both these items

Allowing for different methods of recovery, this small collection is not unlike the material recovered as surface finds in the surrounding area and during the excavation of the amphitheatre (Bradley 1989). In each case there is nothing to indicate a significant phase of earlier prehistoric settlement on the site. On the other hand, field survey recorded a greater density of worked flints within and close to the walled area, and the number of finds from the excavation is consistent with that finding (Ford and Hopkins 2011, 21–4).

TABLE 2. THE WORKED FLINT FROM INSULA IX

Description	No.
Inner flakes	10
Outer flakes	7
Spalls	16
Blades or bladelike flakes	5
Flake knives	2
Flake scraper	1
Hammerstone	1
Barbed and tanged arrowhead	1
Polished flint axe	1

SPINDLEWHORL

By Emma Durham

Roughly one half of a biconical, fired-clay spindlewhorl (FIG. 52). Fine fabric with sparse inclusions and fired to a pale brown/orange-brown with a grey core. The entire surface is decorated. There is a line of impressed dots around the shoulder. The upper surface has vertical combed lines radiating from the perforation down to the shoulder, while below the shoulder the lines are diagonal, forming a rough diamond pattern. Diameter 45 mm; height 35 mm; diameter of perforation 8 mm; weight 30 g. Layer 11063 which overlay gravel Lane 9015; SF 6044.

Prehistoric textiles are not common in Britain, but there is a Neolithic vegetable fibre twine from the causewayed enclosure at Etton, near Maxey, Cambs., while Bronze Age examples include both vegetable fibre and woollen fabrics (Jørgensen 1992, 18–19). There are also few spindlewhorls of similar date in Britain. Among the earliest are a possible Neolithic biconical example from Durrington Walls, Wilts. (Wainwright and Longworth 1971, 188, fig. 82), and a spherical late Neolithic/early Bronze Age example from Maiden Castle, Dorset (Poole 1991c, 210, fiche 8: A14). Both are undecorated. Decoration on prehistoric spindlewhorls is not common and is usually simple, such as the early Iron Age biconical example from Gravelly Guy, Oxon., which is decorated with two lines of fingernail impressions, one above and one below the shoulder (Barclay and Wait 2004, 377, fig. 8.11 no. 159) and a globular late Bronze Age example from Sark, Channel Islands, which is decorated with a single line of fingernail impressions (Durham in prep., sf 565).

Another group of objects associated with textile production is loomweights. Like spindlewhorls they are generally undecorated but there are examples of middle Bronze Age comb-decorated

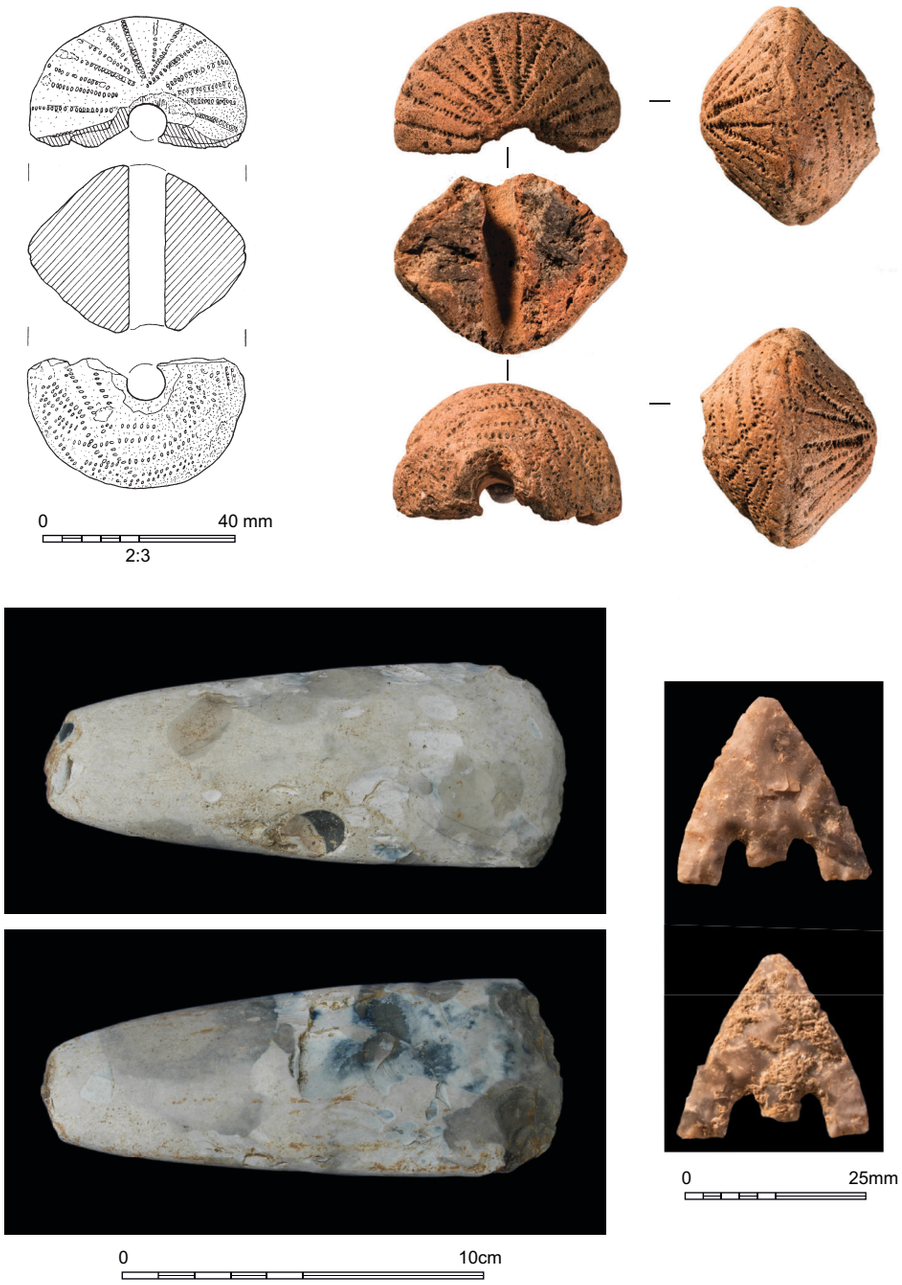

FIG. 52. Fired clay spindlewhorl (SF 6044), flint polished axe (SF 4022) and arrowhead (SF 7728).

loomweights from two sites. From a pit at Magna Park, Milton Keynes there are eight decorated cylindrical weights: four with comb-impressed lines along the length of the weight and radial or free-form lines on the ends and four with irregular lines of deeply impressed points (Chapman 2012, 28–30, figs 6 and 7). From Innova Park, Enfield three fragments of cylindrical weights were found in a midden along with middle Bronze Age pottery and metalwork. They are decorated with combed lines both along and across the length of the weight (Ritchie *et al.* 2008, 16, fig. 8, no. 8).

Comb-impressed decoration like that found on the Silchester spindlewhorl is particularly associated with early Bronze Age ceramic beakers in Britain, but it continues to be used on collared urns until *c.* 1500 B.C. (Woodward 2008, 297). In addition, the use of combed decoration on middle Bronze Age loomweights suggests a similar date for the spindlewhorl.

CHAPTER 4

THE IRON AGE COINS

By Colin Haselgrove

INTRODUCTION

Twenty-five Iron Age coins were recovered during the Insula IX excavations, eight of them silver, the remainder copper-alloy. Together with the 20 British and Gaulish coins from the 1980–86 forum basilica excavations and 30 from the earlier twentieth-century and Victorian explorations, this brings the excavated total for Silchester to 75. Among major late Iron Age centres founded after *c.* 50 B.C., only the Sheepen site at Colchester (Essex), Braughing-Puckeridge (Herts.) and Canterbury (Kent) have longer excavated coin lists, and unlike Silchester, all three of these sites are in parts of south-east England with prolific Iron Age base metal coinages.

In the two decades since the late George Boon first compiled a comprehensive catalogue of Iron Age coins from Silchester (Boon 2000, 163–7), several new finds have also been reported outside the walled town, mostly from metal-detecting. New finds from the parishes of Silchester and Mortimer West End, which together envelop the late Iron Age focus, are noted in the report where they add to the excavated evidence and are listed in Table 5, where the numbers follow on from the Insula IX coins. In keeping with the pattern around other major late Iron Age settlements (Haselgrove 1987; 1993), the majority of finds beyond the walls are of gold (*c.* 70 per cent), in this case predominantly local Southern staters or divisions dating from the mid-first century B.C. onwards. A handful of silver and bronze coins might indicate outlying occupation sites, but the gold is more likely to derive from votive activity or other form of deliberate deposition. No attempt has been made to inventory coins found over 2 km beyond the walled circuit, but further details on these discoveries can be obtained from the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS) database and they will be the subject of further investigation as part of the ongoing Silchester Iron Age environs project.

For ease of reference, the Iron Age coins from the forum basilica area (Boon 2000, Schedule A) are cited by their publication number prefixed by the letter A. Coins that only appear in Boon's list of all known British and Gaulish coin finds from Silchester (Schedule B) are numbered as in his catalogue, prefixed B. In passing, it should be noted that Boon's B61 seems to be a repeat of B57. The Insula IX finds are presented first, followed by a broader discussion. References to standard catalogues are as follows: ABC = Cottam *et al.* 2010; BMC = Hobbs 1996; DT= Delestrée and Tache 2002; M = Mack 1975; SS = Scheers 1977; VA = Van Arsdell 1989. Chronological phases follow Haselgrove (1987; 1993; 1999), with modifications after Cottam *et al.* (2010) and Leins (2012).

THE INSULA IX COINS

Table 3 presents details of the excavated coins from Insula IX (FIG. 53). Apart from two Gaulish imports (Nos 24–5), they are British and, with one exception (No. 20), belong to regional series that were already known at Silchester. There is less correspondence at the level of individual coin types. Insula IX has only one type in common with the forum basilica (No. 15 = A9), although others (Nos 10, 14, 17, 19, 21–3, 25) are replicated amongst the older Silchester coins. What significance we should attach to this disparity is considered below. A remarkably wide range of coin types was minted in the Iron Age, but loss rates are generally fairly low in settlement areas,

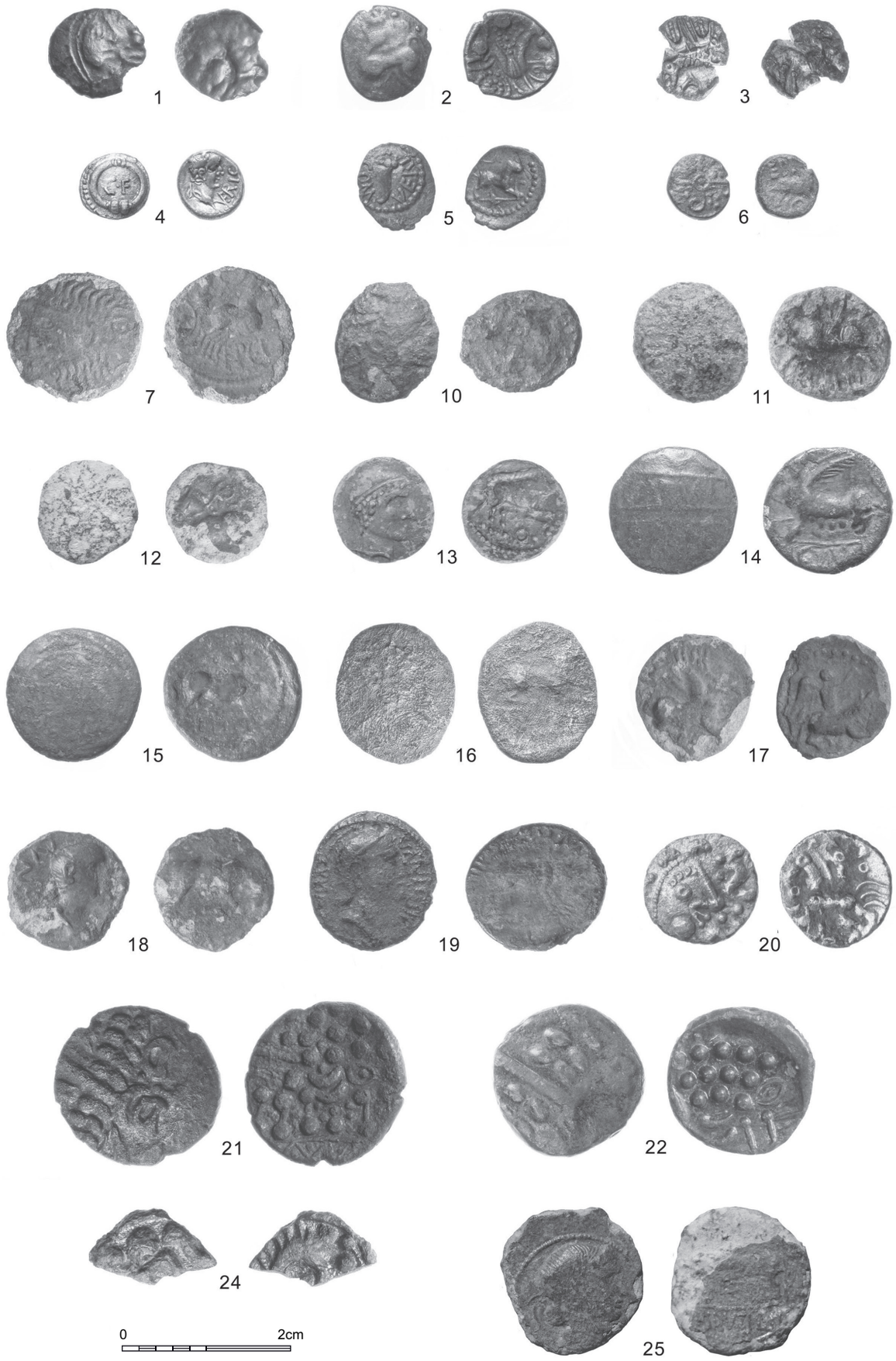

FIG. 53. Iron Age coins from Insula IX.

TABLE 3. IRON AGE COINS FROM SILCHESTER INSULA IX

No.	Material	Wt (g)	Description	ABC	BMC	Other	Obverse	Reverse	Coin Phase	SF	Context	Site Period
1	AR	0.57	Southern Uninscribed	836	–	–	Head r, loop between face and corded hair, small horse before	Horse l, floral sun above, double ring with pellet below	S6	3386	4644	3?
2	AR	0.65	Southern Uninscribed	cf. 902	–	Danebury	Horse l, head with mane turned back, pellet within cogwheel above head, two other pellets	Galloping horse r, 'sash' around body, pellet in double pellet ring below; pellet ring and sun ornament above; before prong and two rings (cf. ABC 662) and pellet	S6	7324	14042	0/1
3	AR ½	0.19 (frag.)	Southern Uninscribed	–	–	Danebury	Boar r, lyres above, cf. ABC 935, below ?human skull	Galloping animal with open mouth r, pellet-in-ring below	S6	7471	15528	0
4	AR ¼	0.34	Verica	1310	1526–33	M132	C.F inside torc, pellet border	Head r, VERIC before	S8	5273	7975	1
5	AR ¼	0.22	Verica	1319	1542	VA554	Cornucopia, above 3 pellets, mini torc? To r VER, to l COM, pellet border	Lion r, R below exergual line	S8	4643	7379	1/2
6	AR ¼	0.27	Eppillus	1172	1118–20	–	Spiral, between arms 4 pellet diamonds, pellet border	Ram r, above EPI, pellet-in-ring below; pellet border	S7	4937	7975	1
7	AE	1.84	Eppillus (K)	417	–	M312	Bearded head l, remnants of uncertain legend in front?	Chariot & horse r, charioteer holding wreath, EP C F below	SE7–8	7304	14228	1
8	AE	2.07	Eppillus (K)	417	–	M312	As No. 7	As No. 7, but legend off flan	SE7–8	6177	11755	1
9	AE	1.87	Uncertain, Eppillus (K)?	411?	1139–41?	M310?	Badly corroded, near illegible. Perhaps bull r, E[PIL]L above	Badly corroded, near illegible Perhaps eagle, wings spread?	SE7–8	6787	15008	1
10	AE ½	1.18	Sego	453	1690	M173	Pellet-in-ring inside star	Winged sphinx, pellet-in ring above	E7	5201	7727	2
11	AE	2.39	Tasciovanus	2664	1688–89	M170	Head r, before TASC, pellet border	Winged horse l, pellet-in-ring above, pellet triangle in front, pellet border	E7	4483	7164	2
12	AE ½	0.58	Tasciovanus	2688	1709–10	M175	Faint geometric pattern	bridled horse l, pellet-in-ring above, [TASCI below]	E7	4180	3611	3/4
13	AE ½	0.85	Tasciovanus	cf. 2712	1762–63	M183	Helmeted head r	Boar r, ring below	E7	6020	11101	-
14	AE	2.03	Cunobelin	2924	1928–30	M230	CAMVL & ODVNO inside panels, scrolls above & below, pellet border	Sphinx l, CVNO in tablet below	E8	5084	7347	1?

TABLE 3 (cont). IRON AGE COINS FROM SILCHESTER INSULA IX

	Material	Wt (g)	Description	ABC	BMC	Other	Obverse	Reverse	Coin Phase	SF	Context	Site Period
15	AE	2.25	Cunobelin	2975	1987–90	M250	CVNO inside tablet, within wreath, pellet border	Horse r, foreleg raised, CAMV below, exergual line, pellet border	E8	7527	15405	0/1
16	AE	2.16	Cunobelin	2984	1991–97	M253	Bearded head r, CVNO in front, curved line behind, pellet border	Lion crouching r, leaf above, CAM in tablet below, pellet border	E8	6303	11901	1?
17	AE	1.19	Cunobelin	2972	1913–19	M249	Winged horse r, above tail CV, below NO, pellet border	Winged Victory stabbing bull r, TASCI below, pellet border	E8	3034	4565	3
18	AE	1.33	Cunobelin	2966	1944–51	M246	Head r, CVNOBE behind, LINVSRI X before, pellet border	Butting bull r, TASC below exergual line, pellet border	E8	3747	5584	-
19	AE	1.93	Cunobelin	2960	1956–60	M243	Helmeted head r, CVNO behind, BELINVS before, pellet border	Boar r, TASCIIOVANII above, F below exergual line, pellet border	E8	5262	9188	1?
20	AR	0.84	Western Uninscribed	2015	2953–62	Allen B	Head r, four crescents behind, pellets and animals before	Triple-tailed horse l, floral ornament below, stylised animal head above	W6–7	6424	11650	0
21	Base AR (or AR wash)	4.14	South-Western	–	–	M317	Crude abstract head r, prominent wreath	Disjointed horse l, head bent parallel with near horizontal neck; above 2 small, several large pellets; below 1 large, 5 small pellets; triangle and pellet exergue; eye-shaped wheel behind	SW6–7	3110	4589	2
22	AE	4.05	South-Western	2175	2790–2859	M318	Crude abstract head r, prominent wreath	Disjointed horse l, many pellets above, one pellet below	SW7–8	3529	5501	3
23	AE	3.82	South-Western	2175	2790–2859	M318	Illegible	As No. 22	SW7–8	4077	6637	2
24	Potin	1.13 (frag.)	Belgic Gaul	–	–	DT530, SS198.1	Very stylised head l, surrounded by S motifs, two of them opposed above the head	Boar r over central ring and pellet, ring behind, arc of pellets and arc of circle below	BG3, LTD1b–2a	4701	7170	1/2?
25	AE (brass)	2.57	Belgic Gaul	–	1995, 263–8	SS216	Diademed head r with hair in large roll	Bull left, [GERMANVS above], INDVTILLI.L below exergue	BG5, GRP	2956	4651	3 or 4

as indeed at Silchester. Consequently, individual finds are rarely a reliable guide to the circulation pool on a particular site and it is more useful to focus on broader regional and chronological trends.

COINS OF THE SOUTHERN REGION (NOS 1–6)

Just under a quarter of the Insula IX assemblage comprises small silver units and even tinier fractions attributable to the 'Southern' coinage tradition, three uninscribed (Nos 1–3), the rest dynastic issues (Nos 4–6). The different strands of this complex coinage are found over a zone extending from the Sussex and Hampshire coastal plain to the middle Thames valley, including the area around Silchester itself. The three uninscribed coins belong stylistically with the diverse series of silver units named after the large deposit found in 1984 near Danebury (Van Arsdell 1991; Bean 2000, 277–8), but No. 1 is the only one with an exact parallel in the most recent corpus of British types (Cottam *et al.* 2010, ABC 836). No. 2 has close affinities with a silver unit first recorded at Hayling Island (Briggs *et al.* 1992, no. 31; ABC 902), but the reverses are different, whilst the half-unit, No. 3, is a variant on the Danebury types with a boar and lyres on the obverse (ABC 872, 875, 935), but does not share a reverse with them. None of the Danebury types are easy to localise, as they are known from only a handful of findspots, but it may be significant that a second boar and lyre coin was present at the forum basilica site (A5; ABC 875). This suggests that these boar and lyre types might be local issues, particularly as both were among a mere handful of Iron Age coins from secure pre-Roman contexts (below). Firm dating is lacking for any of these uninscribed silver types, but a date in the second or third quarter of the first century B.C. seems likely, making them amongst the earliest coins in the group.

Next in chronological order is the Eppillus minim belonging to his Southern series (No. 6). This series is assumed to have been minted at Silchester as three other types belonging to the coinage bear the legend CALLEV and, whilst this might not follow, the distributional evidence is also consistent with this view (Bean 2000, 161–2). Rather surprisingly for presumptively local issues, none of this ruler's coins had previously been found at Silchester, although given their size, the tiny minims could well have been a casualty of Victorian excavation techniques (Boon 2000, 167, 169). Independent dating for Eppillus' Southern types is next to non-existent, but based on their designs and links to other series, they are best placed in the period 20 B.C.–A.D. 10.

The two Verica minims belong to the period *c.* A.D. 10–40. Bean (2000, 173–96) has argued that the cornucopia minims (No. 5) were among the types minted by Verica at Silchester after he succeeded Eppillus there, whereas the torc minims (No. 4) were a product of his (hypothesised) southern mint, presumed to lie somewhere in the Chichester area. Another example of No. 4 was found in the 1990s to the west of the walled area, together with a silver unit of Verica (Table 5, Nos 29–30). The more recent discovery of two gold staters of Tincomaros and Verica in the same locality (Nos 27–8) implies that this was not a settlement site. In the last three years, two more silver units of Verica have been recorded from Stratfield Saye, albeit over 4 km to the east of the town (SUR-ACB902; SUR-A6E948).

COINS OF THE SOUTH-EASTERN REGION (NOS 7–10)

As Eppillus also simultaneously controlled territory in Kent, the eventual discovery at Silchester of coins belonging to his much larger Kentish series was perhaps to be anticipated. In keeping with the 'South-Eastern' coinage tradition, Eppillus' Kentish output was not restricted to gold and silver, but included bronzes, of which three were found at Insula IX: Nos 7–8 are his bull and eagle type, whilst No. 9 appears to be an example of his chariot type, although the identification is not secure. Hitherto finds of both types were almost entirely confined to Kent, where they are fairly common (Leins 2012), although there is one example of a chariot bronze from Braughing-Puckeridge.

The extent to which the Kentish and Calleva series overlapped chronologically is unclear, but a date in the early first century A.D. for Eppillus' Kentish issues appears likely on typological grounds and most authors take the view that he continued to hold sway in Kent for a decade or more after he had lost power at Silchester (Bean 2000, 201–4).

The single bronze half-unit of Sego (No. 10) from Insula IX reflects the same Kentish links

as the three Eppillus bronzes. It is in fact the second coin of its type from Silchester, joining one found in the early explorations of the site (B24). The type dates to the same period as the Eppillus bronzes and, as in their case, nearly all the other known findspots are in Kent, although its stylistic affinities are more with the Eastern region, to which it was long attributed (Holman 1999; 2000; Leins 2012, 98, fig. 4.23).

COINS OF THE EASTERN REGION (NOS 11–19)

Nine coins of the Eastern rulers, Tasciovanus and Cunobelin, were found at Insula IX, representing over a third of the assemblage (36 per cent). All are bronzes, three of Tasciovanus including two half-units (Nos 11–13), and six of Cunobelin, three with Camulodunum legends, minted at Colchester (Nos 14–16), and three signalling his filiation to Tasciovanus (Nos 17–19); minor compositional differences bear out the long-held view that the latter were the product of a second mint, probably at Verulamium where Tasciovanus previously had a mint (Haselgrove and Clogg 1995; Morris 2013, 49). Apart from No. 14, which is an early type, the Cunobelin coins belong to his developed coinage, placing them in the later part of the period A.D. 10–40. The three Tasciovanus coins date between 20 B.C. and A.D. 10, again probably towards the end of the period rather than earlier.

Coins of both Eastern rulers are common amongst the older finds, including more examples of Nos 14 (B27), 15 (A9), 17 (B35) and 19 (B31, B32). Their arrival is widely interpreted as reflecting a period of control by Epaticcus — another who presents himself as a son of Tasciovanus — following his seizure of Silchester from Verica (e.g. Boon 2000, 165), but there could be other factors at work (see below). Despite the earlier links with Kent, none of the silver or bronze types minted by Cunobelin for use in Kent (Morris 2013, 41–8) has yet turned up at Silchester.

COINS FROM OTHER REGIONS (NOS 20–3)

No. 20 is an early uninscribed silver unit belonging to the Western coinage tradition, the first from this region to be recorded at Silchester. The primary distribution focuses on the Severn-Cotswolds and the upper Thames valley (Leins 2012, fig. 4.72), but stray finds are not uncommon outside this zone. The Class B types (Allen 1961) stand at the head of the mainstream Western silver issues and are conventionally attributed to the period 20 B.C.–A.D. 10 (e.g. Haselgrove 1987), but Leins (2012, 155) has proposed an earlier date of *c.* 40–10 B.C. for the series. This would not only make it one of the earliest coin types from Insula IX, but would also accord well with it being one of only two finds in a securely pre-Roman context.

The massive series of South-Western staters to which Nos 21–3 belong evolved through various stages of weight and fineness, beginning with base gold and ending in bronze, but without metal analysis it is generally well-nigh impossible to attribute individual coins to a particular stage in the series. Neither weight nor typology offer a reliable guide to their classification, and many apparently struck-bronze coins have on analysis revealed traces of silver or silver wash (Hobbs 1996, 24). The three examples from Insula IX are no exception and the most that can be said for them is that No. 21 is unusual in possessing a large number of small pellets on the reverse and gives the appearance of having some silver content, whereas Nos 22–3 do not.

Although centred on Dorset, the distribution of South-Western silver and struck-bronze staters also takes in much of central southern England (Leins 2012, figs 4.66–4.67), and several other sites in the region apart from Silchester have produced multiple specimens, including both Hayling Island and Wanborough temples (Briggs *et al.* 1992; Cheesman 1994). There are three more examples among the finds from the older excavations in the town (B41–B43), and in 2000, a probable scattered hoard of 13 South-Western base silver issues was found by a metal-detectorist a kilometre to the east of the walled area (de Jersey 2014, hoard 110; Table 5, Nos 33–45).

IMPORTS FROM BELGIC GAUL (NOS 24–5)

The two imported coins, one a fragment from a cast high tin bronze (potin) coin (No. 24), the other a Gallo-Roman brass issue (No. 25), throw a potentially interesting light on Silchester's

continental links. Both originated in southern Belgic Gaul. Scheers 198 potins seem to be local to the Soissons region, where they occur at the La Tène D2 valley-bottom *oppida* at Saint-Pierre-en-Chastres (Oise) and Villeneuve-Saint-Germain (Aisne), although they do not seem to be among the types produced at the latter site (Haselgrove 1999). They were in circulation in the later second and earlier first century B.C. (ibid., Stage 3). No. 24 is the first recorded example from Silchester of a coin from the Soissons area, but previous finds include two Scheers 195 potins from the neighbouring region around Reims (A17, B47), whilst an example of the common southern Belgic torc-bearer type (Scheers 191) was found in the 1990s outside the walled area (Table 5, No. 26). A northern Belgic 'au rameau' potin (Scheers 190) is recorded from north-west of the town (Table 5, No. 31), not far from where a Gallo-Belgic E uniface stater (B1) and two early Southern (British Q) staters (B11, B13) have been found.

The brasses inscribed Germanus Indutilli L are frequent throughout Belgic Gaul, but Doyen (2007, 63–85) argues convincingly that these coins were minted at Reims, probably between 19 and 12 B.C. Strictly speaking they constitute a Roman provincial issue, but given their date and origin, they are best considered here alongside the Iron Age coins. No. 25 is the second example from Silchester, the other being an old find (B48). Despite occurring at more sites on the Continent than any other Belgic series (Haselgrove 2005, 292–3), only 13 other examples are known in Britain, giving an additional significance to the presence of two finds here. Of the other leading settlements of the period, Sheepen has yielded three examples, and Canterbury and Leicester one each (de Jersey 2006, 133–4). They presumably arrived via the same networks that brought large quantities of Gallo-Belgic fine ware produced in the Reims area to these shores.

DISCUSSION

From a purely chronological perspective, the coins from Insula IX are fairly typical of any major late Iron Age settlement founded in the first century B.C. and occupied continuously into the Roman period. Late dynastic bronzes predominate and only a handful of coin types pre-date *c.* 20 B.C., a period when the use of bronze coinage in Britain was still virtually confined to the territories on either side of the Thames estuary. It is conceivable that the early uninscribed silver units and half-units with a 'boar and lyres' obverse, of which there are now two from the excavations, were locally minted. The Insula IX finds also included a minim of Eppillus, the self-styled 'King of Calleva' — the first example of this series from the site — and a minim of Verica, which Bean (2000) attributes to the same mint. The three bronzes of Eppillus attest to connections with his Kentish territory, the only surprise being that these, too, are the first excavated examples from Silchester; we might, however, note that his Southern types are equally scarce in Kent, with a solitary minim from Canterbury the only recorded find (Holman 2005, 28). The Western silver unit is the first coin import from that region to have been excavated at Silchester, but contacts in that direction are perhaps to be expected given the close affinities between the two regional coin traditions, expressed by the borrowing of the triple-tailed horse device on the reverse of the Southern British Q gold series for Western gold and silver types.

Apart from a handful of early bronzes from the Chichester area (ABC 737–43) — of which there is one example from just outside Silchester (Boon 2000, B16) — only gold and silver were minted in the Southern region, a tradition to which even the late rulers of Eastern extraction, Epaticcus and Cara[tacus], adhered, and from which Eppillus departed only in Kent. Silver units and minims do occur on settlements, but it is rare to find them in large numbers (Haselgrove 1987, 145–61). With its now quite long coin list and abundant base metal issues, Silchester stands out. Indeed, it more closely resembles major sites in the bronze-using territories of south-east England, but for the important point that their coin lists are dominated by local issues (ibid., 180–6; 1993), whereas three-quarters of the Insula IX finds (76 per cent), and nearly as many from the forum basilica (70 per cent), are imports from outside the region. Whilst at one level this may simply reflect the changing political allegiances of Silchester inferred by Allen (1944) and further elaborated in more recent studies of the coinage (e.g. Bean 2000), it also raises some interesting questions, not least what brought so many coins from elsewhere to Silchester in the first place, and what role, if any, did they play in transactions on the site?

With the completion of the Insula IX excavations, it is possible for the first time to compare coin finds from two different areas of the settlement with each other as well as to the aggregate collection of older finds. Only a handful of these last have any kind of useful provenance (Haselgrove 1987, 408–13; Boon 2000), but they indicate that Iron Age coins were present across the walled area and not just confined to the core of the site (cf. FIG. 6). Equally, whilst more coins were recovered at Insula IX, in terms of area investigated, the 20 coins from the forum basilica area represent a far higher density of finds, as only *c.* 1200 m^2 were excavated there as against *c.* 3000 m^2 at Insula IX. This translates into a loss rate of *c.* 167 coins per hectare for the forum basilica area, twice as high as for Insula IX, where the figure is only *c.* 83 coins per hectare. Other things being equal, this could well imply significant differences in the nature of coin use in the two areas of the settlement.

Looking first at the regional origins of the coins, a number of key differences emerge between the two modern excavations (FIG. 54). The most significant is the much higher proportion of continental coins at the forum basilica, which included Southern Gaulish and Armorican imports (A15–A16) as well as Belgic, at the expense of Eastern coinage, which is the commonest group at Insula IX. Both of these categories feature strongly among the older finds. Southern issues are also better represented at the forum basilica, among them three coins of Tincomaros (A1–A3) — the earliest of the trio of Southern rulers who styled themselves 'sons of Commios', whose issues are absent at Insula IX. The proportions of South-Eastern issues are near identical, although specifically Kentish types are confined to Insula IX. Finally, a minority of coins from other parts of Britain are present in both areas, but the two examples from the forum basilica are both East Midlands types (A13–A14), whereas as we have seen, Insula IX has links to the Western and South-Western regions.

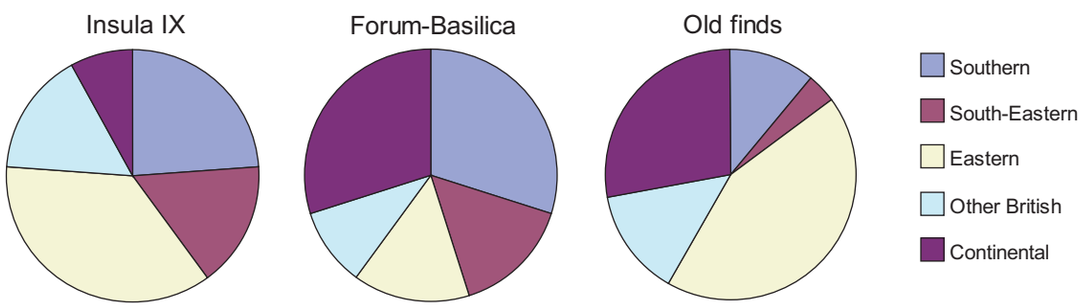

FIG. 54. Proportions of Iron Age coins from different regional series from Insula IX, the forum basilica and older interventions within the walled area.

The chronological profile of the coins from the two excavations is also quite different (FIG. 55). The finds in Insula IX display a steady increase by coin period up to and including Phase 8 (*c.* A.D. 10–40), with the latest types contributing just over 50 per cent of all losses. At the forum basilica, there are more early types attributable to Phases 4–5 (*c.* 100–50 B.C.); coin numbers are highest for Phase 7 (*c.* 20 B.C.–A.D. 10), then fall away sharply for Phase 8. The frequency of Phase 4–5 types partly reflects the large number of imports from Gaul, where minting stopped earlier than in Britain. It is more difficult to account for the dearth of Phase 8 types at the forum basilica, which are restricted to a single minim of Verica (A4) and a bronze of Cunobelin (A9), but are abundant only 150 m away on Insula IX, and also among the older finds, which effectively mirror the pattern of Insula IX (and include the only recorded coin of Epaticcus (B43) from Silchester). Elsewhere, the lack of Phase 8 types would normally be taken to suggest a reduction in activity in the forum basilica area in the second quarter of the first century A.D. — or at least of activities generating coin loss. Interestingly, the report on the 1980–86 excavations does raise the possibility of a brief period of abandonment between the end of the Iron Age settlement and the first demonstrably Roman building there (Fulford and Timby 2000, 14), although previous occupation seems to be both continuous and extensive.

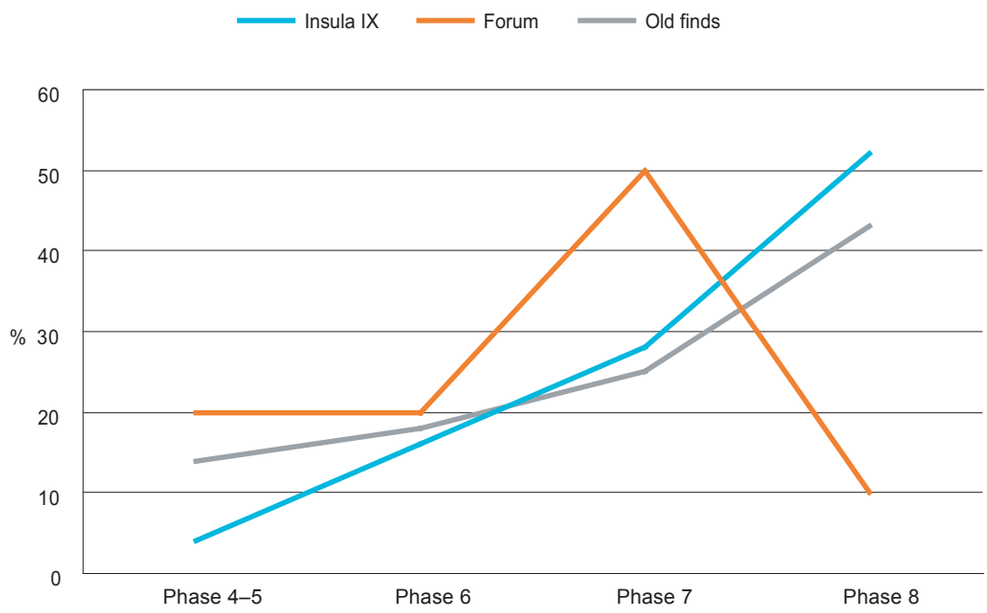

FIG. 55. Iron Age coins from Insula IX, the forum basilica and older interventions within the walled area by coin phase.

We can also examine the stratified finds from successive occupation periods (Table 4). Only two coins were found in securely Iron Age contexts in Insula IX (two more might be) and three at the forum basilica. All five are first-century B.C. types. In both areas, the bulk of the finds, 21 coins in all, came from the Claudio-Neronian horizon, echoing the pattern at major Iron Age settlements (and religious sites) throughout south-east England (Haselgrove 1987; 2006) — although the degree to which this phenomenon reflects fundamental changes in the status and use of indigenous coinage at these sites following the Roman invasion, or is primarily a product of residuality exacerbated by the difficulty of distinguishing pre- and post-conquest deposits remains open to debate (see below). More certainly residual are the 14 coins from late first- and second-century A.D. contexts, which are mostly in Insula IX, presumably reflecting the very different histories of Roman occupation on the two sites. The collection is rounded off by three coins from Victorian backfill at the forum basilica and two finds from surface cleaning in Insula IX. The spectrum of coins from fully Roman contexts recalls the older Silchester finds and perhaps helps explain why quite so many Iron Age coins were found in the early excavations, which undoubtedly focused on Roman structures and deposits.

Taken on its own, this small group of coins from Iron Age contexts from the two areas is closer to what we might expect of a site in central southern England, although we might perhaps have expected more finds from pre-Roman features at the forum basilica, given the higher density of finds there. Two are local Southern issues (Nos 3, A5) — and there is a third from a possible pre-Roman context (No. 2). The early Western silver unit (No. 20) came from the same ditch (11631) as No. 3, whilst an uninscribed Eastern bronze (A11) hints at similarly precocious ties with the Essex-Hertfordshire area; it was found in well F423, in the same silty deposits as A5 (Fulford and Timby 2000, 17). Imports from across the Channel are restricted to a bronze coin issued by the Volcae Arecomici in southern Gaul from a post-hole at the forum basilica (A15). Its arrival is perhaps more likely to be a consequence of the diaspora caused by the Gallic War than to indicate direct contacts with the early Roman province; it could easily have arrived with the imports from Belgic Gaul. The one odd feature of the group compared to other sites in central southern England is the lack of inscribed British coins from the Iron Age deposits in either area, unless we count a late Cunobelin bronze (No. 15) from an accumulation of soil that is not certainly pre-Roman.

Silchester is far from being the only major British or Continental settlement with low densities

TABLE 4. SILCHESTER INSULA IX AND FORUM BASILICA IRON AGE COINS BY SITE PERIOD AND CONTEXT

Insula IX		Forum Basilica	
Period 0 (Late Iron Age)		***Period 2 (c. 15 B.C.–A.D. 40/50)***	
No. 3, AR Southern	Upper fill of Ditch 11631 (0)	A5, AR Southern	Fill of Well F423 (2.5)
No. 20, AR Western	Upper fill of Ditch 11631 (0)	A11, AE Eastern	Fill of Well F423 (2.5)
		A15, AE Southern Gaul	Post-hole F1536 under metalled surface (2.4)
Period 1 (Claudio-Neronian)		Periods 3–4 (c. A.D. 40–80/85)	
No. 2, AR Southern	Accumulation over clay floor (0/1)	A1, AR ¼ Tincomaros	Deposit in Pit F246/566 (3.3)
No. 4, AR ¼ Verica	Clay floor of roundhouse (1)	A2, AR ¼ Tincomaros	Dark earth 556 (3.9)
No. 6, AR ¼ Eppillus	Clay floor of roundhouse (1)	A3, AR Tincomaros	Gravel metalling 1760 outside building (4.10)
No. 7, AE Eppillus	Fill of Pit 14245 (1)	A4, AR ¼ Verica	Lowest fill of Pit F246/566 (3.3)
No. 8, AE Eppillus	Floor surface/slump into Post-hole 13818/15068 (1)	A6, AE/AR ½ Eastern	Dark earth 1313 (3.9)
No. 9, AE Eppillus(?)	Fill of Pit 15016 (1)	A7, AE Rvii	Dark earth 556 (3.9)
No. 14, AE Cunobelin	Cleaning in SW area (1?)	A10, AE South-Eastern	Fill of scoop F625 sealed by building (3.3)
No. 15, AE Cunobelin	Accumulation against S baulk (0/1)	A12, AE SA	Dark earth 556 (3.9)
No. 16, AE Cunobelin	Cleaning in NW area (1?)	A13, AE/AV British KBo	Dark earth 1313 (3.9)
No. 19, AE Cunobelin	Fill of Pit 9165 (1?)	A14, AE/AV British KBo	Dark earth 2225 (3.9)
		A20, Potin Gaul	Gravel metalling 941 outside building (4.10)
Period 2 (late C1–early/mid-C2 A.D.)		***Period 5 (c. A.D. 85–Hadrian)***	
No. 5, AR ¼ Verica	Cleaning in NW area (1/2)	A9, AE Cunobelin	Fill of F401, construction trench for colonnade of timber basilica (5.2)
No. 10, AE ½ Sego	Accumulation assoc. with ERTB2 (2)	A18, AE Belgic Gaul	Fill of F401, construction trench for colonnade of timber basilica (5.2)
No. 11, AE Tasciovanus	Accumulation assoc. with ERTB1 (2)	A19, AR Belgic Gaul	Demolition of timber basilica (5.31)
No. 21, AR South-Western	Gravel assoc. with ERTB2 (2)		
No. 23, AE South-Western	Hearth assoc. with ERTB roundhouse (2)		
No. 24, Potin Belgic Gaul	Cleaning in NE area (1/2?)		

Periods 3 and 3/4 C2 A.D.			
No. 1, AR Southern	Fill of Post-hole 4648 (3?)		
No. 12, AE ½ Tasciovanus	Fill of Drain 3656/6751 assoc. with House 1/MRMB 3 (3/4)		
No. 17, AE Cunobelin	Accumulation assoc. with House 1 (3)		
No. 22, AE South-Western	Fill of Post-hole 5514 (3)		
Unstratified		***Unstratified***	
No. 13, AE ½ Tasciovanus,	Cleaning	A8, AE Andoco	Victorian backfill (9)
No. 18, AE Cunobelin,	Cleaning in SW area	A16, AR Armorican Gaul	Victorian backfill (9)
No. 25, AE Germanus Indutilli L	Cleaning	A17, Potin Belgic Gaul	Victorian backfill (9)

of Iron Age coins from the excavated features (Haselgrove and Webley 2016), although it is worth bearing in mind that Ditch 11631 with its two coins was almost the only substantial feature of this date in Insula IX; other major Iron Age features there were confined to two wells and some pits of relatively low volume. On the other hand, this explanation is less easily applied to the forum basilica, where there was plentiful pre-Roman occupation and no sign of clearance for the pre-Flavian courtyard building and its successors which could have differentially removed the latest Iron Age deposits (and with them, the majority of Phase 8 losses). Few of the coins we do find show any sign of having been intentionally placed in features such as pits, post-holes or boundary ditches as we find at many Iron Age sites (ibid.). One possible candidate is the Volcae Arecomici bronze from a post-hole sealed beneath a metalled street at the forum basilica (Fulford and Timby 2000, 14), whilst the minims of Eppillus and Verica (Nos 4 and 6) found in the floor (7975) of a mid-first-century A.D. roundhouse in Insula IX could be a form of foundation deposit (but casual losses cannot be ruled out). Structured deposition is also a feature of Roman sites and it is always possible that some of the Iron Age coins from Roman features were curated objects, which were only placed in the ground at a much later date: the South-Western bronze (No. 23) from a hearth associated with an early Roman timber roundhouse on Insula IX might be a contender, as might two coins from the construction trench for the east colonnade of the Flavian timber basilica (A9, A18).

Finally, we may return to the high number of Iron Age coins from the mid-first-century A.D. deposits. There is an exceptionally high level of residual material in this horizon at both sites, including Augusto-Tiberian fine wares, brooches and even the clay pellet moulds habitually associated with coin production (Fulford and Timby 2000, 185, table 24; 337, fig. 155; Allen, Ch. 12). This would also be the most straightforward explanation for the coins, but for (1) the rarity of coins in surviving pre-Roman contexts; and (2) the conspicuous lack of late dynastic issues from the forum basilica, where 91 per cent of the finds from the Claudio-Neronian levels pre-date *c.* A.D. 10, whereas at Insula IX they account for 80 per cent of all coins. The first point could be discounted if late Iron Age contexts that were richer in coins have *all* been lost to subsequent activity, but this seems a little contrived when there *is* surviving horizontal stratigraphy. The second might perhaps reflect a late influx of late dynastic issues to Silchester at exactly the time of the suggested hiatus at the forum basilica, which meant that late coins did not reach this part of the site. The strong representation of late Eastern bronzes at Insula IX could be the result of new political realities in the peri-conquest period or of new patterns of coin use and circulation in the wake of the invasion (Haselgrove 2006). This could certainly apply to the trio of debased South-Western issues from later deposits on Insula IX. These coins are common on early Roman sites across southern Britain and clearly underwent a post-invasion diaspora, perhaps on account of the same chronic need for base metal coinage on the part of the invading Roman military that induced large-scale copying of official Claudian issues.

Against the idea of an influx of Cunobelin bronzes after Silchester fell under the control of the Eastern dynasty, manifested in the coinage of Epaticcus, we can point to the presence of several coins dating to the era of Tasciovanus and his affiliates. At face value, these imply an earlier link with the Eastern region — unless their arrival at Silchester was a secondary product of Eppillus' links with Kent, where issues of Tasciovanus are not uncommon. What kind of relationship Tasciovanus had to the peoples of Kent has never been clear, but the way his name is paired with Sego on Kentish coins (above) could indicate some form of hegemony, leading us to speculate whether in describing himself as the son of Tasciovanus on some coins, Epaticcus was in fact referencing the links between Kent and Silchester that existed when Eppillus was king, rather than promoting his status as a 'brother' of Cunobelin. If so, this might explain why he only minted gold and silver types following the Southern coinage tradition.

In considering the lack of Phase 8 issues at the forum basilica, we should not overlook two bronzes of Caligula found in the dark earth layers that formed over the greater part of the excavated area in Period 3 (Fulford and Timby 2000, 34). As well as being the earliest stratified Roman coins on the site, they are broadly contemporary with the latest issues of Cunobelin. A further ten Roman coins of Claudius and Nero, mostly copies, were recovered from the Period 4 deposits (Boon 2000), which are also pre-Flavian. Clearly then, some coins were entering the

archaeological record for the first time in the mid-first century A.D. at the forum basilica, which perhaps argues against all the Iron Age coins from this horizon necessarily being residual — although the six British types from the same dark earths as the Caligula bronzes were all older by at least 30 years (A2, A6–7, A12–14). In sum, the elevated number of Iron Age coins in this horizon compared to their infrequency in securely Iron Age contexts is not an issue that can be easily resolved from coin evidence alone. It could well in any case involve a range of different factors including a high degree of residuality; the discard of coins that no longer had the same value in the political and social conditions prevailing after the invasion, but also the increased use of coinage at Silchester in transactions of various kinds in the decades immediately after the invasion, particularly base metal issues imported from other coin-using regions.

CONCLUSION

Standing back from these intricacies, the key point to emphasise is the chronological complementarity between the coins from the forum basilica and Insula IX, the former emphasising the first century B.C., the latter the earlier first century A.D. The new finds have supplied a dimension that is very largely missing in the 1980–86 excavations, but crucial to reconstructing the overall monetary history of the pre-Roman settlement and its different quarters, within which coin circulation and deposition was evidently far from uniform. Gaulish imports, British uninscribed issues and coins of Tincomaros, none of them later than *c.* 20–1 B.C., are all more common at the forum basilica, whereas coins of Eppillus, Verica and Cunobelin, who reigned in the first century A.D., predominate on Insula IX (FIG. 56). A chronological hinge between the two groups is provided by the coins of Tasciovanus and his affiliates, whose reigns overlapped those of Tincomaros, Eppillus and Verica — which occur in similar numbers at both sites. Debased South-Western coins (likely to be mid-first-century A.D. arrivals) are confined to Insula IX. Together the two groups provide a picture that broadly echoes the older finds from the walled area, although it remains puzzling why the few coins from secure Iron Age contexts on both sites are so biased towards early types (unless we are under-estimating the extent of the role that intentional depositional practices that privileged older coins played in the formation of the site).

The late Iron Age settlement is thought to have been founded *c.* 25–15 B.C. (Fulford and Timby 2000; this volume), which leads to two final points. First, with one or two exceptions, the indigenous coins from the forum basilica look like a cross-section of issues that we would expect

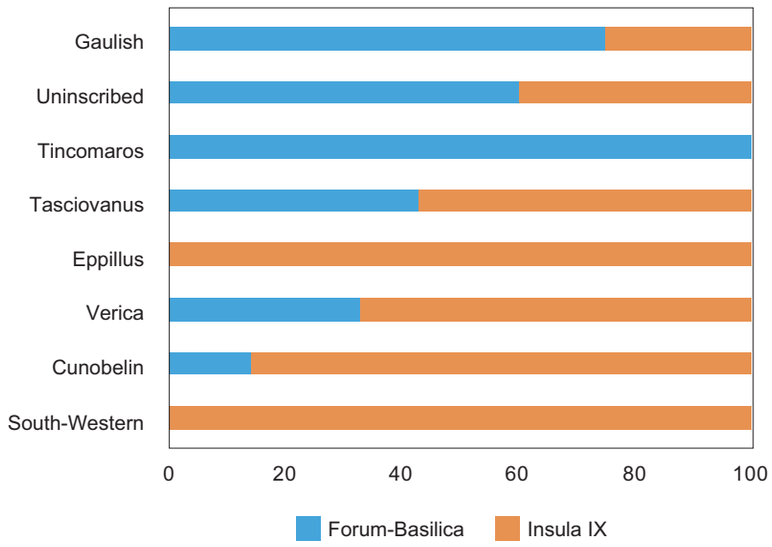

FIG. 56. Proportions of different series of Iron Age coins at the forum basilica and Insula IX (%).

TABLE 5. FINDS OF IRON AGE COINS WITHIN *c.* 2 KM OF THE ROMAN WALLED CIRCUIT (SINCE 1994)

No.	Material	Wt (g)	Description	ABC	BMC	Other	Location	Found	Recorded	PAS identifier
Silchester Parish										
26	Potin	3.46	Belgic Gaul	–	–	SS191, DT155	*c.* 0.65 km SW of town	1990s	2003	NMGW-2332A0
27	AV	5.33	Tincomaros	1061	767	–	*c.* 1.7 km W of town*	Before 2002	2010	CCI-020525
28	AV	5.32	Verica	1190	1146	–	As No. 27	Before 2002	2010	CCI-020526
29	AR	1.31	Verica	1220	1241	–	As No. 27	1990s	2010	CCI-971065
30	AR ¼	0.28	Verica	1310	1526	–	As No. 27	1990s	2010	CCI-971070
Mortimer West End										
31	Potin	5.05	Belgic Gaul	–	–	SS190-IV, DT629	*c.* 0.8 km NW of town, in same general area as B1, B11, B13	1990s	2010	CCI-000762
32	AV ¼	1.4	Southern Uninscribed	503	480		*c.* 1 km E of town	2012?	2012	BERK-F43B34
33–45	AR base	3.53-4.27	South-Western Uninscribed	2157/2169	2525/2555/2641/2991		*c.* 1 km E of town. Hoard found in two scatters *c.* 20 m apart, 7 coins in 10 m radius, 6 coins in 20 m radius (de Jersey 2014, Hoard 110)	2000	2002	IARCH-89D089B

*A silver unit of Tincomaros (ABC 1100) previously reported as having been found to the east of the walled area (B18) might conceivably also come from this area. The grid reference on the PAS database places this find to the west of the Roman town (CCI-840241), in same general area as Nos 27–30.

to find in circulation at the start of the occupation, whereas the majority of coins from Insula IX were minted during the lifetime of the settlement (FIG. 54). Second, there is the question of when and in what context(s) the Gaulish coins were imported? The Germanus Indutilli L brasses probably arrived along with the first Gallo-Belgic fine wares, but many older types had virtually disappeared from circulation in Gaul by then and are more likely to have reached Silchester earlier in the first century B.C., particularly the potins (No. 24, A17, B 47). This surely implies an existing focus (or foci) of some importance in the vicinity, a suggestion that gains further credence from the number of early to mid-first-century B.C. gold coins from just outside the walled area; these include the Gallo-Belgic E stater (B1) and British Q staters (B11, B13) from north-west of the town (above), as well as two more Gallo-Belgic E staters (B2–3) and a scatter of Belgic potin and bronze issues (Table 5, Nos 26 and 31; B53). If such a predecessor did exist, it would plausibly be the source of many of the earlier coin types found in the late Iron Age settlement.

CHAPTER 5

THE IRON AGE BROOCHES

By Nina Crummy

INTRODUCTION

A large number of Iron Age brooches were found on Insula IX throughout all the years of excavation, although few were found in Period 0 contexts and many of those that were stratified came from Period 1 or later activity (Ch. 6). Even more numerous are the forms that span the transition into Period 1, which, together with those dating from *c.* A.D. 43 to *c.* A.D. 60, make up the bulk of the assemblage. In contrast, very few brooches represent the final three and half centuries or so of occupation on the site, a feature apparent in the Insula IX brooches before excavation had finished and typical of southern Britain as a whole (Crummy 2012, 121, fig. 7.13; Plouviez 2008, figs 4.1.2–3).

A summary catalogue of 160 indigenous and imported Insula IX late Iron Age brooches forms the first section of this chapter, some of which are types that continued in use for varying lengths of time after the conquest. They represent 37 per cent of the 437 brooches from the site, but with 95 fragments unattributable to a type and/or a date range, it would be more accurate to define them as 47 per cent of 342 brooches. Brief context details (drawn from Insula IX's Interactive Archaeological Database (IADB)) are given in the catalogue for items that are unphased or yet to be phased. Bibliographic details are given for those Iron Age brooches residual in mid- or late Roman levels that have been published in *Late Roman Silchester* (*LRS*) (Fulford *et al.* 2006) or *City in Transition* (*CIT*) (Fulford and Clarke 2011) and for a published repaired penannular brooch (Crummy 2016a).

The second section of the chapter examines some aspects of these brooches and of the group as a whole: materials, size, status and any evidence for ritual deposition. The third section returns to the analysis of the entire assemblage of Insula IX's late Iron Age and Romano-British brooches first taken up in Crummy 2012, which used Plouviez's method of assemblage analysis based on typological groups (2008). This is employed again here to permit comparison of the results, although some slight changes have been made to her groups.

THE CATALOGUE

Brooches are of copper alloy unless stated otherwise. They are grouped first within broad date ranges and then by type. Some have been illustrated in Chapter 6, and the images have not been duplicated here. Examples stratified in Period 0 and/or illustrated either here or in Chapter 6 are listed first within each type. Thereafter they are generally listed by length. Where appropriate, individual brooches or types are referenced to Mackreth's (2011) classification as being the most recently published, but nomenclature can vary between specialists and his has not necessarily always been preferred.

FIRST CENTURY B.C. TO EARLY FIRST CENTURY A.D.

Few brooches are of this date but two were stratified in Period 0 contexts. One, a Boss-on-bow brooch, belongs wholly within the first century B.C.; a more refined date is discussed in Chapter 6. The other is a Nauheim brooch that may date to as late as *c.* A.D. 20/25. The remaining items

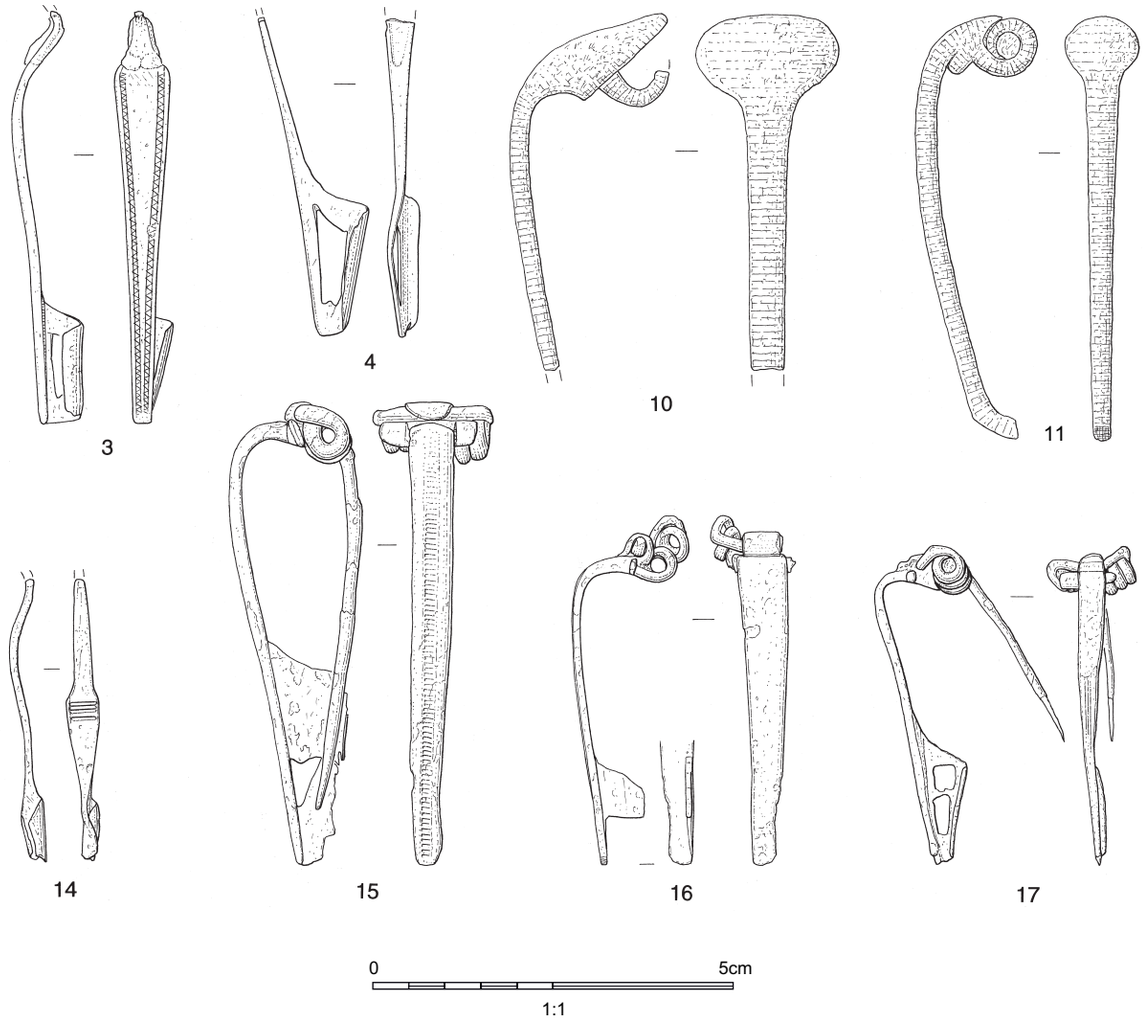

FIG. 57. Brooches 3, 4, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16 and 17.

in this group are two other Nauheims and three brooch pins identified as early by their length and the diameter of their spring coils.

Boss-on-bow

1. FIG. 67.1, SF 7488. (15528), top fill of Ditch 11631; Period 0. Four-coil bilateral spring detached and in fragments; pin missing. The chord is internal. Bow D-shaped to elliptical above the moulding, which is a simple bead. Below it are two steps, each ornamented with a lightly incised and close-set horizontal zigzag. Below them the bow is rectangular in section, decorated with a central groove flanked by vertical close-set zigzags. The catchplate has a large triangular perforation. L 84 mm.

Nauheim

2. FIG. 69.16, SF 6090. (11050), accumulation in Gully 11051, Trackway 1; Period 0, south-west of trackway. Distorted. The spring, chord and pin are missing, as are the end of the foot and catchplate. Plain tapering rectangular-section bow. The catchplate has broken across a large perforation. L (bent) 54 mm.
3. FIG. 57.3, SF 5416. (7750), levelling. Of the spring mechanism only part of the chord remains and is detached. Tapering rectangular-section bow with broad marginal grooves crossed by a thin incised zigzag. The catchplate has a large perforation. L 57 mm.

4. FIG. 57.4, SF 2654. (3928), occupation. Lower part of a tapering rectangular-section bow with the end of a marginal groove on one side at the break. The catchplate has a large perforation. L 44 mm.

Pins from La Tène III brooches with no wings

5. SF 6043. (11063), accumulation; Period 1. Pin and most of the bilateral spring of a one-piece brooch, probably a Nauheim. L 47 mm, D 7 mm.
6. SF 4003. (5449), levelling. Complete pin and most of the bilateral spring from a one-piece brooch. L 51 mm, D 7 mm.
7. SF 788. (1434), late Roman layer. Complete pin and part of the bilateral spring from a one-piece brooch. L 50 mm, D 7 mm.

LATE FIRST CENTURY B.C. TO MID-FIRST CENTURY A.D.

All these sprung one-piece brooches are of iron, have an expanded trumpet head, and are poorly preserved. Two were found in Period 0 contexts, both in Pit Group 14. The affinities are to Mackreth 2011, 10, form 2, but, where enough of the bow survives to tell, none of the Silchester examples has any mouldings.

Trumpet head

8. SF 6201. (11568), upper fill of Pit 11026; Period 0, Pit Group 14. Iron. Upper part of bow and pin only. Probably a brooch of this type, but the head is damaged. L 23 mm.
9. SF 5653. (9615), fill of Pit 9606; Period 0, Pit Group 14. Iron. Upper part only. The four-coil spring is seated behind a small expanded head. L 49 mm.
10. FIG. 57.10, SF 6228. (11618), accumulation; Period 1. Iron. Fragment, missing most of the spring and pin and the end of the bow with the catchplate. Part of one coil remains behind the elongated head. The bow is D-shaped to elliptical in section. L 49 mm.
11. FIG. 57.11, SF 5590. Unstratified. Iron. Pin and catchplate missing. The expanded head is short and narrow, just covering the spring. Circular-section bow. L 59 mm.
12. SF 5355. (8573), accumulation. Iron. Pin and foot with catchplate missing. The head covers the top of the spring as No. 10 (SF 6228) above. L 66 mm.
13. SF 5842. (10107), slumped occupation; Period 1. Iron. Upper bow only; head probably similar to No. 11 (SF 5590) above. The bow is circular in section. L 51 mm.

FIRST HALF OF THE FIRST CENTURY A.D.

These are brooches that typify the late Iron Age in southern and eastern Britain, representing the period of Verica and Epaticcus in Calleva and Cunobelin in Camulodunum, and they form the majority of the pre-conquest brooches from Insula IX. One-piece brooches are listed first, then iron hinged brooches, and lastly spring-cover brooches. Remarkably few examples were found stratified in Period 0 contexts. While some are certainly residual in later contexts, a great number would have continued in use into Period 1 for a decade or so after the conquest (Crummy 2007, 316; Mackreth 2011, 245).

One-piece brooch with expanded lower bow (Mackreth 2011, 11, Stead group 3.c)

14. FIG. 57.14, SF 3530. (4529), levelling. A Late La Tène brooch missing the spring, pin and tip of the foot. The upper bow is narrow and very gently curved, tapering upwards to the bend for the first spring coil. At the midpoint it widens out slightly and flattens, and is marked by four transverse grooves. Below that it tapers to a knife edge, where it has been bent over to meet the edge of the catchplate, which has been rolled inwards. L 38 mm, max. bow W 3.5 mm. Compare with Mackreth 2011, pl. 3, 3767, from Owlesbury, Hants.

Simple Gallic (Continental Colchester)

One-piece brooches with a blunt, flat forward-hook holding the superior chord and a sharp

downward turn below the head onto a bow that is often of rectangular section (Stead and Rigby 1989, 89; Mackreth 2011, 37).

15. FIG. 57.15, SF 7377. (14684), repair to Clay Floor 14683; Period 1. Complete, pin closed. Six-coil spring; plain side-wings; low D-section bow with a band of cross-grooves running down the centre; triangular perforation in the catchplate. L 64 mm.
16. FIG. 57.16, SF 5408. (8327), cleaning. Most of spring, side-wings and catchplate missing. Eight-coil spring; plain rectangular-section bow; ?triangular perforation in the catchplate. L 46 mm.
17. FIG. 57.17, SF 6425. (11771), cleaning. Complete, pin open. Eight-coil spring; plain side-wings; plain rectangular-section bow; fretted catchplate. L 42 mm.

Ribbon-bow

Sometimes referred to as proto-Langton Downs, as while the spring is held by a forward-hook, as in Colchester and Simple Gallic brooches, the thin flat bow may be reeded as on many Langton Downs (Mackreth 2011, 33, form 1.b). The term Ribbon-bow is used here to match the nomenclature used by Corney (2000, 330) for the forum basilica examples. Two were stratified in Period 0 contexts. Their date, and that of five other examples from Silchester, is discussed in Chapter 6.

18. FIG. 70.25, SF 7736. (16498), fill of Gully 16503, Structure 2; Period 0. The lower part of the bow with the catchplate and part of the spring with the pin are missing. The thin bow is reeded; the edges are damaged, and it appears to taper slightly. L 38 mm, W 8.5 mm.
19. FIG. 69.17, SF 6170. (10287), fill of Gully 11106, Trackway 1; Period 0. Bow fragment with part of the spring. Narrow forward-hook; plain flat (sheet metal) bow. L 31 mm.
20. SF 6771. (12874), charcoal deposit. Two non-fitting fragments. (a) Head, with six-coil spring and forward-hook running onto a plain flat (sheet metal) bow. L 8 mm. (b) Bow fragment with the stump of the catchplate. L 25 mm.
21. SF 232. (1000), topsoil. Fragment; the spring-cover retains a small part of the pin. The bow is plain and sharply bent (damage) below the head; the foot is missing, although part of the top of the catchplate remains. L 24 mm.

Colchester

Found in both copper alloy (x 27) and iron (x 3). While many Colchesters are long and some may have decoration down the bow, it is noticeable that all of the examples from Insula IX have plain bows and most are short, with some falling into Mackreth's Late-Small group (2011, 43–4). Five brooches were stratified in Period 0 contexts, two from Pit Group 1, two from Pit Group 4, and one from a Trackway 2 ditch.

22. FIG. 72.40, SF 6498. (12461), fill of Pit 12462; Period 0, Pit Group 1. Complete, pin closed; thick corrosion over the spring. Eight-coil spring; side-wings in poor condition, ?plain; plain elliptical-section bow; fretted catchplate. L 69 mm.
23. FIG. 72.37, SF 6035. (10755), fill of Pit 10746; Period 0, Pit Group 1. Pin and catchplate missing. Six-coil spring; plain side-wings; plain elliptical-section bow. L 36 mm.
24. FIG. 74.47, SF 6099. (10791), fill of Pit 11673; Period 0, Pit Group 4. Iron. Most of the pin and the end of the foot with most of the catchplate are missing. The bow is plain and rectangular to D-shaped in section. The catchplate is fretted. L 68 mm.
25. SF 6183. (10791), fill of Pit 11673; Period 0, Pit Group 4. Only fragments of the spring and chord remain; pin and catchplate missing. Plain side-wings; plain D-section bow. L 47 mm.
26. SF 5543. (9719), fill of Ditch 10024, Trackway 2; Period 0. Catchplate, side-wings, pin and part of spring missing. ?Six-coil spring; bent plain D-section bow. L 32 mm.
27. FIG. 58.27, SF 2786. (3619), levelling; Period 3. Complete apart from the catchplate, most of which is missing. Eight-coil spring; side-wings in poor condition, ?plain; plain elliptical-section bow. L 79 mm. *CIT*, 103, fig. 56, 19, appendix 2, table 29. Period 3 Masonry Building 2, Object 50019, floors.
28. FIG. 58.28, SF 4934. (8322), no context details. Pin and parts of spring and catchplate missing. Ten-coil spring, chord bent; plain side-wings, one bent forward, the other back; plain D-section bow; multiply-perforated catchplate with incised zigzag along the margins. L 72 mm.

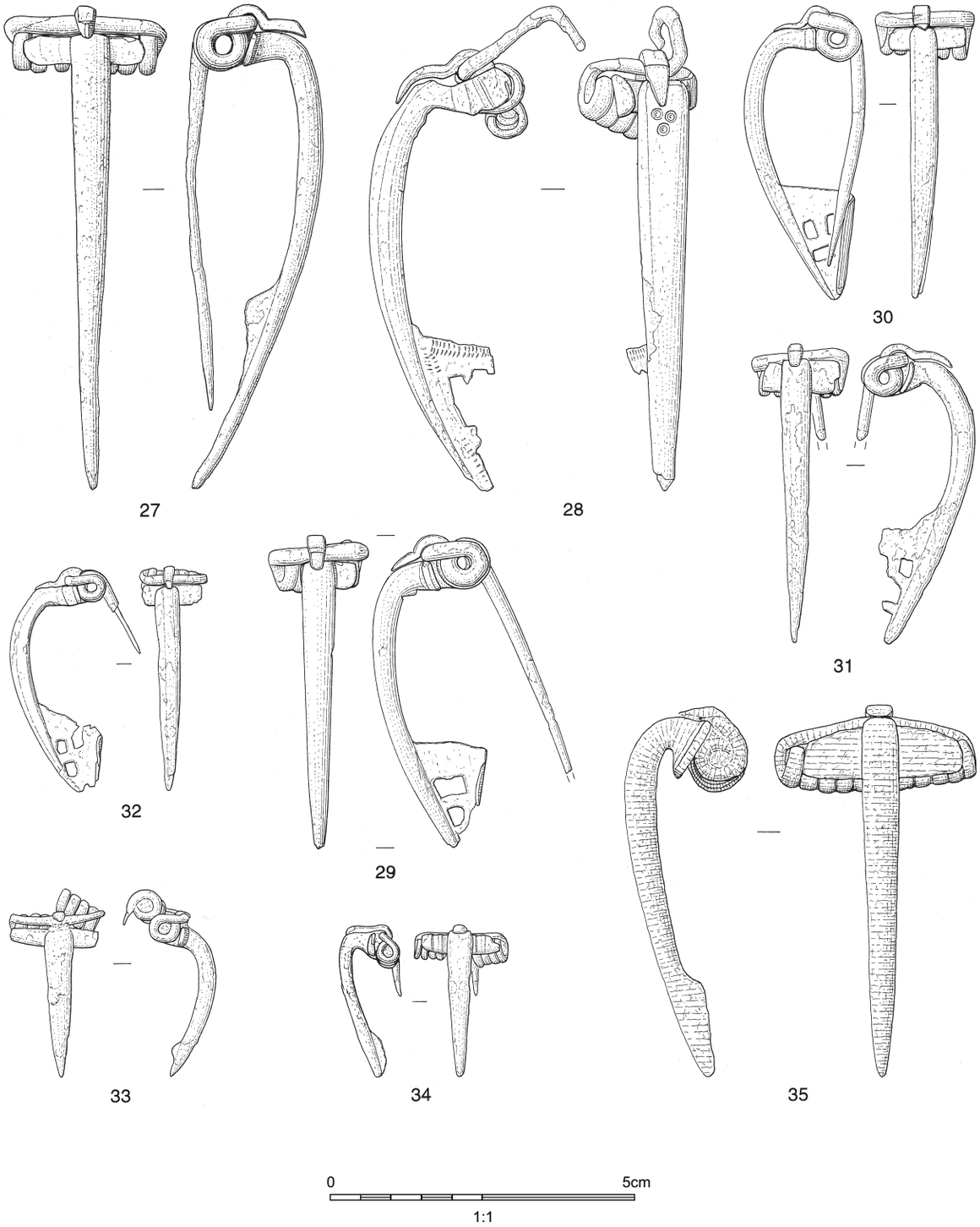

FIG. 58. Brooches 27–35.

29. FIG. 58.29, SF 6832. (12860), gravel surface; Period 1. Complete apart from one side-wing and the tip of the pin; pin open. Six-coil spring; plain side-wing; plain D-section bow; doubly-perforated catchplate. L 49 mm.
30. FIG. 58.30, SF 6927. (14705), occupation; Period 1. Complete; pin closed. Six-coil spring; plain side-wings; plain D-section bow; multiply-perforated catchplate. L 48 mm.
31. FIG. 58.31, SF 5133. (8363), slumped floor; (Period 1). Most of pin missing, catchplate damaged. Six-coil spring; plain side-wings; plain elliptical-section bow; multiply-perforated catchplate. L 48 mm.

32. FIG. 58.32, SF 5160. (8420), occupation. Most of pin missing, catchplate damaged. Six-coil spring; plain side-wings; D-section bow; multiply-perforated catchplate. L 36 mm.
33. FIG. 58.33, SF 5928. (10164), occupation slump; Period 1. Small; pin and most of catchplate missing. Ten-coil spring; plain side-wings; plain D-section bow. L 27 mm.
34. FIG. 58.34, SF 6018. (10447), occupation slump; Period 1. Small; lower part of pin and most of catchplate missing. Ten-coil spring; ribbed side-wings; plain D-section bow. L 24 mm.
35. FIG. 58.35, SF 4601. (6134), dump. Iron. Pin and catchplate missing. Spring of ?twelve coils. The bow is circular in section. L 62 mm.
36. SF 5424. (7761), ?demolition deposit. Upper bow and head of a large brooch with stout, plain, elliptical-section bow. Only the stumps of the forward-hook and first spring coil remain. The side-wings are ribbed. L 32 mm.
37. SF 6964. (14718), gravel surface; Period 1. Part of chord and all catchplate missing. Six-coil spring; plain side-wings; plain narrow D-section bow. L 43 mm.
38. SF 6194. (10787), dump within Pit 11697; Period 1. Most of spring missing, what remains is distorted. Plain side-wings; plain D-section bow. L 42 mm.
39. SF 3373. (4414), gravel spread. Most of pin and catchplate missing; six-coil spring; plain side-wings; plain elliptical-section bow. L 43 mm.
40. SF 4966. (8326), cleaning. Flattened plain elliptical-section bow with only part of the spring and catchplate and only stumps of the side-wings. Catchplate had at least two perforations. L 40 mm.
41. SF 5326. (7771), gravel spread; Period 1. Pin and spring missing apart from part of the forward-hook and one coil of the spring. Plain side-wings; plain D-section bow. L 33 mm.
42. SF 5681. (10078) = (10210), surface of Trackway 1; Period 1. Pin and catchplate missing. Six-coil spring; plain side-wings; plain D-section bow. L 32 mm.
43. SF 7700. (16790), fill of Pit 16800; Period 1. Fragments: the top of a plain light D-section bow with the forward-hook, six-coil spring (part detached) and most of the chord (detached). L 17 mm.
44. SF 7808. (16150), accumulation predating the east–west street; Period 1. Fragment: upper bow with part of spring, chord and forward-hook. Plain D-section bow. L 27 mm.
45. SF 5048. (7753), levelling; Period 1. Most of pin and catchplate missing. Eight-coil spring; ribbed side-wings; plain elliptical-section bow. L 34 mm.
46. SF 5230. (8452), occupation/slump into Well 8328, (Period 1). Catchplate, pin and most of the spring missing; what remains of the spring is in fragments. Very short plain side-wings; plain D-section bow. L 34 mm. A twisted fragment of wire found with the brooch is not part of it. L 16 mm.
47. SF 2986. (4651), cleaning. Bent plain D-section bow with only part of the hook and the first coil of the spring; side-wings and catchplate missing. L 34 mm.
48. SF 1882. (2826), fill of Pit 2827; late Roman. Small; most of spring and all of catchplate missing. Iron axial bar through spring; side-wings obscured, in poor condition; plain elliptical bow. L 29 mm. *LRS*, appendix 4. Object 120, Pit 2827.
49. SF 4273. (6865), occupation/clay layer. Small; only the upper part remains. Six-coil spring; plain side-wings; plain wire bow. L 16 mm.
50. SF 5946. (11030), accumulation; Period 1. Complete pin, three spring coils (right) and part of the external chord. L without chord (slightly bent) 50 mm, D 6 mm.
51. SF 2155. Wall 3246. Complete pin with three spring coils (right) and part of the external chord of a Colchester brooch. L (bent) 48 mm, D 7 mm.
52. SF 4107. Unstratified. Complete pin with four spring coils (right) and part of the external chord. The pin has been bent round to form a ring more or less on the same plane as the spring and chord. L with chord (bent) 22 mm, without chord (straight) *c.* 65 mm, D 6 mm.
53. SF 5082. (7695), levelling. Iron. The pin and the end of the foot with the catchplate are missing. The bow is D-shaped in section. L 63 mm.

Iron one-piece sprung brooches

These have no side-wings and fall within Mackreth's *Drahtfibel* Derivative forms (2011, 22–3, DD form 1.b2 or 1.c2), which date from the first half of the first century A.D. into the Claudio-Neronian period or later. Three came from Period 0 contexts.

54. FIG. 67.3, SF 7001. (12055), fill of Ditch 11631; Period 0. Iron. Pin missing. Spring of four coils. Wire bow, in two pieces. The catchplate is solid. L *c.* 75 mm.
55. FIG. 74.53, SF 6219. (11680), fill of Pit 11721; Period 0, Pit Group 4. Iron. Missing the pin and the lower bow with the catchplate. Spring of four coils. Wire bow. L 55 mm.

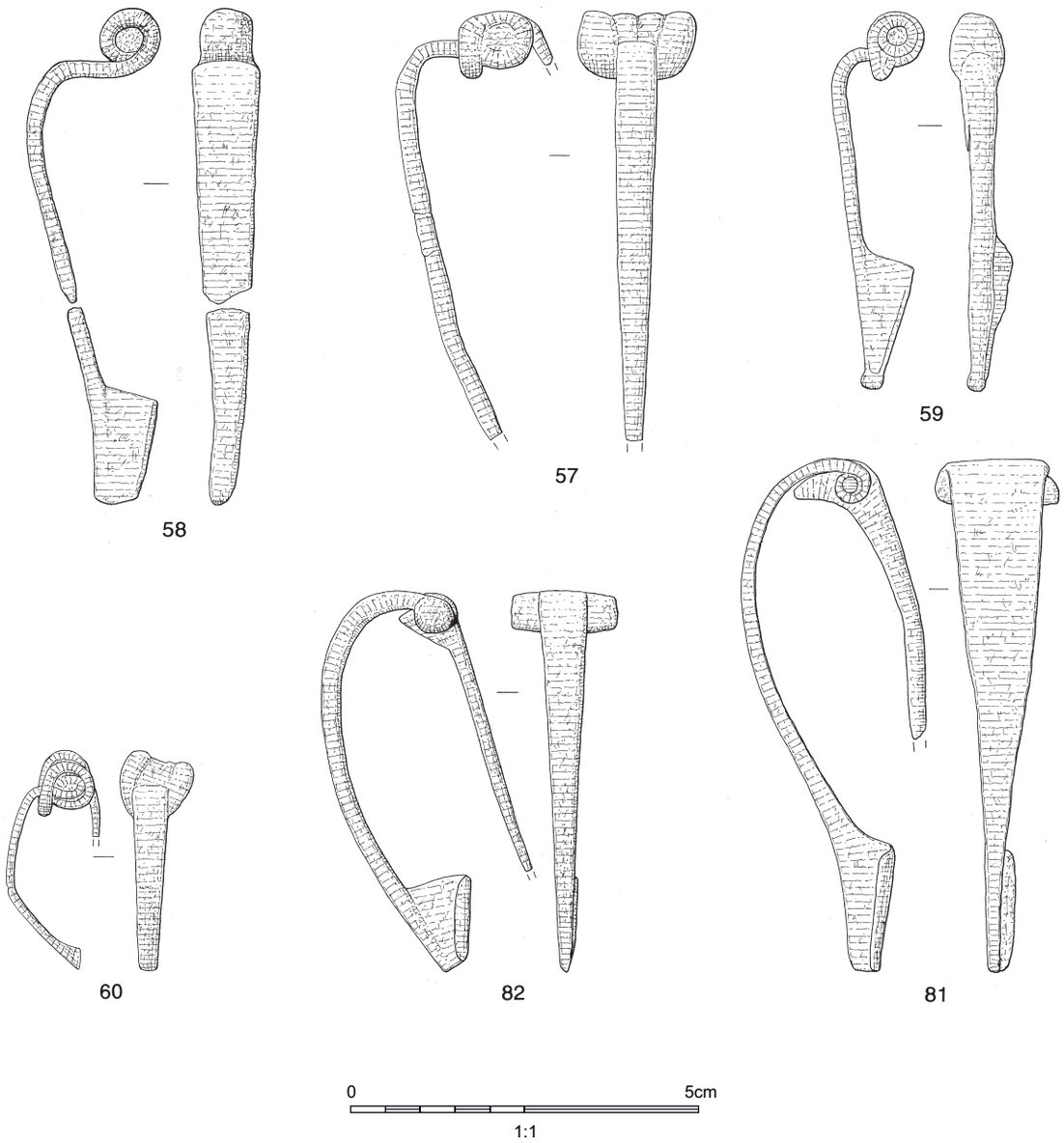

FIG. 59. Brooches 57, 58, 59, 60, 81 and 82.

56. SF 6152. (11572), fill of Post-pipe 11577 in Post-hole 111541; Period 0, Post-hole Alignment 8. Iron. Wire brooch bow, bent, with bilateral spring. In poor condition. L 50 mm.
57. FIG. 59.57, SF 7061. (14026), accumulation; Period 1. Iron. The pin and catchplate are missing. Spring of four coils. Wire bow, with sharp bend to the spring at the top. L *c.* 60 mm.
58. FIG. 59.58, SF 5908. (11058), slump into Pit 11026; Period 0, Pit Group 14. Iron. Pin and most of the spring missing. The bow is rectangular in section, tapering to the foot. The catchplate is solid. L 77 mm.
59. FIG. 59.59, SF 5598. (8935), accumulation; Period 1. Iron. Pin and part of spring missing. Straight wire bow with solid catchplate. L 54 mm.
60. FIG. 59.60, SF 5414. (8873), levelling. Iron. Upper part of the bow with the spring, which has three coils. Short wire bow, broken at the top of the catchplate. L 32 mm.
61. SF 2532. (3468), layer. Iron. The ends of the bow and pin are missing. The bow is narrow and rectangular in section, tapering to the foot. L 38 mm. *CIT*, 118, fig. 61, 76, appendix 2, table 34. Period 4. South-eastern occupation.
62. SF 2907. (4450), cleaning. Iron. Most of the bow is missing, and the end of the pin. The bow is narrow and rectangular in section. L 37 mm.

63. SF 6031. (11039), levelling; Period 1. Iron. Fragment, probably of this type. A gently curved, narrow, rectangular-section bow with a slight reverse curve to the foot. The catchplate is solid. L 73 mm.
64. SF 6956. (13991), accumulation; Period 1. Iron. The end of the bow is missing. Spring of four coils. Pin complete. Wire bow. L 64 mm.
65. SF 3269. (4638), cleaning. Iron. The end of the pin and the end of the foot with the catchplate are missing. Spring of four coils. Wire bow. L 56 mm.
66. SF 1898. (2347), fill of Depression 2968. Iron. Upper part only. Three-coil spring. Narrow, rectangular-section bow. L 40 mm.
67. SF 6629. (12655), accumulation; Period 1. Iron. Pin missing, bow in two fragments and lower part bent. Four-coil spring. Wire bow. L *c.* 46 mm.
68. SF 6216. (11598), fill of Pit 11612; Period 1. Iron. Upper bow and spring only. Four-coil spring. Wire bow. L 33 mm.
69. SF 4849. (7962), no context details. Iron. The ends of the bow and pin are missing. Wire bow. Pin bent up at an angle. L 48 mm.
70. SF 7289. (14036), cleaning. Iron. Fragment. The upper bow with a spring of four coils and the stump of the pin. L 24 mm.
71. SF 4605. (7851), cleaning. Iron. Pin missing. Spring of four coils. Wire bow with a sharp angle at the head. The catchplate is solid. L 59 mm.
72. SF 6397. (11502), no context details. Iron. Part of the bow with the spring, which is bent. The bow is rectangular in section. L 42 mm.
73. SF 6393. (12009), fill of Pit 12005; Period 1. Iron. Part of a wire bow with one coil of the spring. L 39 mm.
74. SF 4988. (4381), fill of Pit 7937; Period 1. Iron. Pin of a one-piece brooch with several (number uncertain) spring coils. L *c.* 40 mm.
75. SF 5954. (10298), cleaning. Iron. Fragment. Solid catchplate with a short part of a wire bow. Probably of this form. L 25 mm.
76. SF 5437. (7761), ?demolition. Iron. Spring and top of a wire bow. Probably of this form. L 21 mm.
77. SF 6880. (14353), accumulation. Iron. Foot of a wire bow with catchplate. Probably of this form. L 39 mm.

Iron hinged brooches

The form is widespread but the core of the distribution lies with the Durotriges. Three come from Period 0 contexts. Most of the Insula IX examples belong to Mackreth 2011, 150, DURO form 7b, which dates from the first half of the first century A.D. into the post-conquest period. Two examples, including one from a Period 0 context (SF 7370), are of the mid- to later first-century A.D. DURO form 8b, probably dating to no earlier than the A.D. 40s (see Ch. 6). Based on a single find found by the hip of an inhumation, Mackreth (2011, 150) has suggested that the form 7bs, at least, may have been used to fasten a 'kilt-like garment'; see below (p. 109) for an alternative interpretation of this brooch's position in the grave.

78. FIG. 67.2, SF 6480. (12764), base of top fill of Ditch 11631; Period 0. Iron. Complete apart from the end of the pin; in three fragments. The head is turned under to hold the axial bar for the pin (DURO form 7b). The bow is rectangular in section and tapers to a knife-edge foot with a slight reverse curve. The catchplate is solid. L 83 mm.
79. SF 7370. (14047), fill of Pit 14081; Period 0 (now rephased as Period 1), Pit Group 6. Iron; in too poor a state to be drawn. Pin and most of catchplate missing. The head is rolled forward to hold the axial bar for the pin (DURO form 8b). The bow is rectangular in section. L 71 mm. Mid-first century.
80. SF 5565. (9581), fill of Pit 8580; Period 0, Pit Group 14. Iron. Complete pin from a hinged brooch (DURO form 7–8). L 63 mm.
81. FIG. 59.81, SF 7352. (14054), accumulation. Iron. Complete apart from the end of the pin. The head is turned under to hold the axial bar for the pin (DURO form 7b). The bow is rectangular in section and tapers to a narrow knife-edge foot with a slight reverse curve. The catchplate is solid. L 74 mm.
82. FIG. 59.82, SF 4836. (7939), accumulation. Iron. Complete apart from the tip of the pin. The head is turned under to hold the axial bar for the pin (DURO form 7b). The rectangular-section bow is narrow and tapers to a knife-edge foot in a single curve. The catchplate is solid. L 55 mm.
83. SF 4889. (7949), accumulation. Iron. Complete apart from the end of the pin. The head is rolled under to hold the axial bar for the pin, which has a pronounced internal projection (DURO form 7b).

The bow is rectangular at the upper end, narrowing to round before the development of the reverse-curve, knife-edge foot. The catchplate is solid. L 81 mm.

84. SF 7285. Unstratified. Iron. Most of the hinged pin is missing; it has a pronounced internal projection. The head is turned under to hold the axial bar for the pin (DURO form 7b). Rectangular-section bow with reverse-curve, knife-edge foot, now expanding with corrosion. L 72 mm.
85. SF 5460. (7715), levelling. Iron. End of pin missing. The head is turned under to hold the axial bar for the pin (DURO form 7b). Rectangular-section bow with short, reverse-curve, knife-edge foot. The catchplate is solid. L 69 mm.
86. SF 4866. (7949), accumulation. Iron. The pin is missing. The head is turned under to hold the axial bar for the pin (DURO form 7b). Rectangular-section bow with short, reverse-curve, knife-edge foot. The catchplate is solid. L 59 mm.
87. SF 5786. (9096), occupation. Iron. The upper part of the bow with the head. The head is rolled under to take the axial bar for the pin, which is missing (DURO form 7b). The bow is of rectangular section. L 53 mm.
88. SF 6030. (10265), accumulation; Period 1. Iron. Upper bow and head only (DURO form 7b). The bow is rectangular at the top and tapers to square at the break. L 45 mm.
89. SF 7613. (15962), floor; Period 1. Iron. In four fragments, with very little iron remaining: (a) foot with catchplate; (b) upper rectangular-section bow; (c) hinged head (DURO form 7–8); (d) pin missing the tip. L *c.* 67 mm.
90. SF 3726. (5040), accumulation. Iron. Bent, narrow bow fragment rolled forwards at the head around an axial bar (DURO form 8b). L 42 mm. Mid-first century.
91. SF 5000. (7347), cleaning. Iron. Upper part of a hinged brooch pin. L 23 mm. Probably DURO form 8.

Iron hinged brooches?

92. SF 5724. (7931), gravel surface. Iron. Foot of a bow with reverse-curve, solid catchplate. L 38 mm. Similar in form to some hinged DURO form 8 brooches.
93. SF 5877. (11030), accumulation; Period 1. Iron. Solid catchplate with the end of a narrow, rectangular-section, reverse-curve bow that tapers to a knife-edge foot. Similar in form to some hinged DURO form 8 brooches. L 36 mm.
94. SF 4950. (7939), accumulation. Iron. Foot of a bow with reverse-curve, solid catchplate. L 30 mm. Similar in form to some hinged DURO form 8 brooches.

Rosette

Spring-cover brooches with a distinctive round or rhomboidal element in the centre of the bow; sometimes also referred to as Thistle brooches (Stead and Rigby 1989, 93). See Mackreth 2011, 26–9, for the development of the form. Where the central element survives on Insula IX examples it is round. None came from a Period 0 context.

95. FIG. 60.95, SF 7642. Unstratified. Complete apart from most of the pin and some damage to the foot. The spring-cover is open at the back. The bow is angular. The convex, stepped disc is cast in one with the bow and foot. A ridge at the centre of the bow is decorated with angled grooves and the same decoration runs down the centre of the foot. The catchplate has a single round perforation. L 41 mm, max. D 21 mm. Mackreth 2011, 28–9, form 3.
96. FIG. 60.96, SF 3084. Wall 2023 for Early Roman Timber Building 2 (Period 2, ERTB2). Complete apart from some damage to the edges of the bow and foot and most of the catchplate is missing; pin closed. Spring-cover closed; decorated with angled grooves. Rounded bow. The flat disc is cast in one with the bow and foot, both of which are reeded. All that remains of the openwork plate originally applied to the disc is some frilling at the centre. L 35 mm, max. D 20 mm. Mackreth 2011, 29, form 4, integral plate with repoussé.
97. SF 6416. (10169), floor slump into Pit 11694; Period 1. Complete apart from some damage to the edges of the disc and foot, but in poor condition. Form as No. 96 (SF 3084); single, round perforation in the catchplate. L 40 mm, max. D 19 mm.
98. SF 7439. (14039), accumulation; Period 1. Splayed, reeded foot with single, round perforation in the catchplate. L 22 mm.
99. SF 6560. (12793), levelling. Splayed, reeded foot fragment with part of the catchplate. L 14 mm, max. W (edges missing) 9 mm.

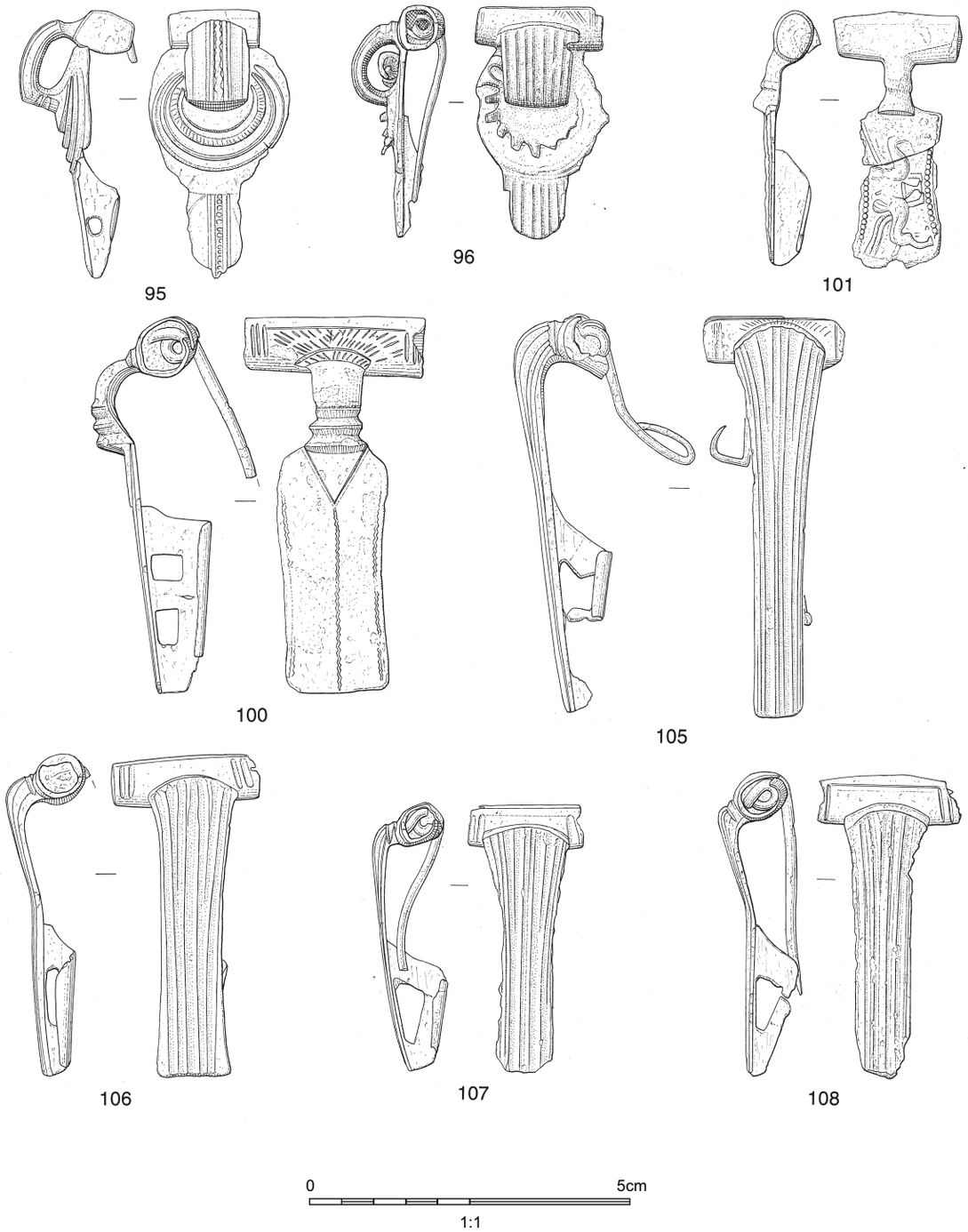

FIG. 60. Brooches 95, 96, 100, 101, 105, 106, 107 and 108.

Cravat

The development of this spring-cover form from brooches with a crouching lion on the bow is traced in Hattatt 1987, 45–7 and Mackreth 2011, 29–31. None of the Insula IX examples came from a Period 0 context.

100. FIG. 60.100, SF 7649. Unstratified. Complete apart from the end of the pin. Framed, incised sunburst on the spring-cover; short arched bow with transverse mouldings; long foot with marginal and median incised wavy lines; two rectangular perforations in the catchplate. L 57 mm, W 27 mm. Mackreth 2011, 31, form 6.a, 'shovel' foot.

101. FIG. 60.101, SF 7600. (16313), fill of Pit 16320; Period 1. Complete apart from the pin and some damage to the edges of the foot. Spring-cover plain; short straight bow with transverse mouldings; applied repoussé-decorated plate on the foot showing two opposed griffins flanking a cantharus. L 39 mm, W 19 mm. Mackreth 2011, 30, form 5.d, 'bow tie'. For other examples with decorated plates see Stead and Rigby 1989, fig. 49, L6; Crummy 2003, fig. 43, 52; Mackreth 2011, pl. 18, 12406.
102. SF 7650. (15981), occupation; Period 1. Fragment, with flattened spring-cover (back missing) and bow only. The wide, flat bow would have been fitted with an applied repoussé-decorated plate, as Mackreth 2011, 31, form 6.b, 'shovel' foot, pl. 18, 12406.
103. SF 1283. (1412), fill of Gully 1598 adjacent to east–west street. Fragment of a debased, lion-bow brooch, probably a Cravat type, with spring-cover, part of the spring and bow only. Spring-cover plain; arched bow with two transverse mouldings close to the junction with the foot. L 17 mm, W 19 mm.

Langton Down

Spring-cover brooches that occur in a wide variety of forms, many of which are represented in the Insula IX assemblage. Despite their numbers, only one came from a Period 0 context.

Round-headed, with reeded bow

Mackreth 2011, 33, LD form 2; Feugère 1985, type 14b1b. See separate section below for particularly short examples.

104. FIG. 71.36, SF 7075. (14027), fill of Well 13965; Period 0. Complete apart from damage to catchplate and foot; pin detached. Framed incised sunburst on spring-cover; reeded bow; fretted catchplate. L 66 mm, W 23 mm.
105. FIG. 60.105, SF 4790. (7919), accumulation. Part of spring missing, damage to spring-cover and catchplate; pin bent. Framed spring-cover; reeded bow; fretted catchplate. L 60 mm, W 21 mm.
106. FIG. 60.106, SF 6053. (11039), levelling; Period 1. Complete apart from pin. Spring-cover framed; reeded bow; large triangular perforation in catchplate. L 49 mm, W 22 mm.
107. FIG. 60.107, SF 5071. (7759), levelling. Complete apart from tip of pin. Spring-cover framed; reeded bow, large triangular perforation in catchplate. L 41 mm, W 18 mm.
108. FIG. 60.108, SF 4045. (5585), floor in Roundhouse 5570; Period 2. Complete apart from some damage to foot and catchplate. Spring-cover framed; reeded bow; large triangular perforation in catchplate. L 47 mm, W 22 mm.
109. SF 4401. (7305), slump into Well 5100; Period 2. Part of spring-cover, most of spring with pin and most of catchplate missing. Spring-cover framed; reeded bow; at least one perforation in catchplate. L 56 mm, W 25 mm.
110. SF 6907. (13528), fill of Pit 13548; Period 1. In three fragments; pin, foot and most of catchplate missing; damage to sides of bow. Spring-cover framed; reeded bow; at least one perforation in catchplate. L 46 mm, W 20 mm.
111. SF 5893. (8988), cleaning. Pin, foot and most of catchplate missing, spring-cover damaged. Spring-cover framed; reeded bow; large triangular perforation in catchplate. L 46 mm, W 19 mm.
112. SF 6319. (10119), levelling/accumulation; Period 1. Pin missing, sides of bow and catchplate damaged. Spring-cover framed; reeded bow; large triangular perforation in catchplate. L 40 mm, W 17 mm.
113. SF 3597. (4712), silt spread; Period 1. Fragment, spring-cover with spring, part of pin and upper bow. Spring-cover framed; reeded bow. L 20 mm, W 17 mm.
114. SF 6000. (10497), occupation; Period 1. Fragment, spring-cover with spring, part of pin and upper bow. Spring-cover framed; reeded bow. L 15 mm, W 19 mm.
115. SF 4756. (7379), cleaning. Fragment, spring-cover with spring and upper bow. Spring-cover framed; reeded bow. L 12 mm, W 20 mm.

Square-headed

Mackreth 2011, 34, LD form 3; Feugère 1985, type 14b1a. See separate section below for a particularly short example, SF 7794.

116. FIG. 61.116, SF 6790. (12883), accumulation. Complete apart from the end of the pin and part of the catchplate. Spring-cover plain; flat bow, margins reeded and beaded and inlaid, silver-wire, wavy line down the centre; large perforation in the catchplate. L 42 mm, W 15 mm. Mackreth 2011, form 3.a.

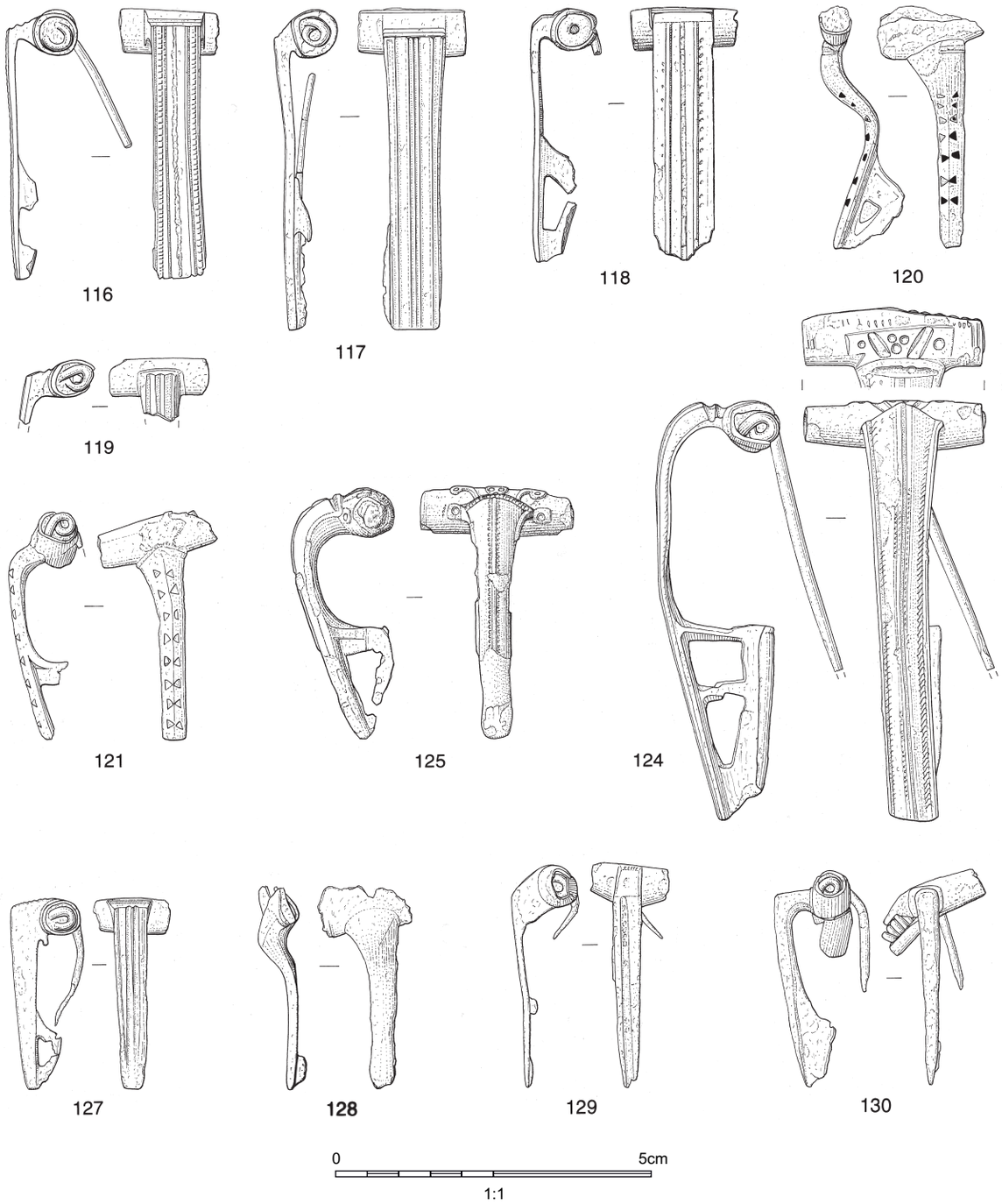

FIG. 61. Brooches 116–21, 124, 125 and 127–30.

117. FIG. 61.117, SF 4065. (1846), gravel fill of Ditch 1847. Pin and most of catchplate missing. Groove across top of spring-cover; flat reeded bow. L 50 mm, W 17 mm. Mackreth 2011, form 3.b.
118. FIG. 61.118, SF 3251. (4859), occupation/accumulation. Complete apart from most of pin and some damage to foot and catchplate. Spring-cover plain; flat reeded bow with inlaid, silver-wire, wavy line down the centre; large triangular perforation in the catchplate. L 39 mm, W 16 mm.
119. FIG. 61.119, SF 6121. (10783), accumulation; Period 1. Fragment, spring-cover with spring and upper bow. Spring-cover plain; D-section with angular mouldings. L 10 mm, W 15 mm.

Niello inlay

Mackreth 2011, 35, LD form 6. All four examples are short.

120. FIG. 61.120, SF 5729. (9977), floor make-up; Period 1/2. Distorted, spring-cover and spring damaged, pin missing. Spring-cover framed?; round-headed; triangular-section bow with triangular cells filled with niello (copper sulphide) on either side of the central ridge; triangular perforation marked on catchplate but probably not fully pierced (now filled with solid corrosion products). L 38 mm, W 16 mm.
121. FIG. 61.121, SF 7323. (14606), accumulation. Part of spring-cover, pin and part of catchplate missing. As No. 120 (SF 5729); most of niello missing; large triangular perforation in catchplate. L 35 mm, W 18 mm.
122. SF 6623. (12597), fill of Pit 12590; Period 1. Two non-fitting fragments: damaged spring-cover with spring, pin missing, small length of upper bow, and a bow fragment in very poor condition. Spring-cover plain; round-headed; triangular-section bow with traces of curvilinear cells on each side, niello missing. L 15 and 13 mm, W 16 mm.
123. SF 6941. (14228), upper fill of Pit 14245; Period 1. Two non-fitting fragments: damaged spring-cover and spring, pin missing, small length of upper bow, and a bow fragment with part of the catchplate. As No. 120 (SF 5729); most of niello missing; large perforation in catchplate. L 16 and 22 mm, W 15 mm.

Nertomarus

Mackreth 2011, 35, LD form 7; Feugère 1985, Type 14b2.

124. FIG. 61.124, SF 4373. (6865), occupation/clay layer. Complete apart from the end of the pin and some damage to the spring-cover; pin open. Debased vegetal design on the spring-cover, reduced to raised blocks with punched dots; D-section bow has prominent central and marginal mouldings flanked by worn tooling; fretted catchplate. L 65 mm, W 28 mm.
125. FIG. 61.125, SF 3250. (4859), occupation/accumulation. Complete apart from the pin and some damage to the spring-cover, catchplate and surface of the bow. As No. 124 (SF 4373), but the vegetal decoration on the spring-cover is less debased; large, triangular perforation in catchplate. L 38 mm, W 23 mm.
126. SF 6875. (13091), levelling; Period 1. Fragment, in poor condition; spring-cover with spring, part of pin and upper bow. As No. 124 (SF 4373), but design on spring-cover obscured. L 20 mm, W 24 mm.

Short brooches of various forms

127. FIG. 61.127, SF 7794. (16150), accumulation; Period 1. Complete apart from the end of the pin and some damage to the catchplate. Plain spring-cover, square-head with transverse grooves, right-angled turn down onto the reeded bow. The catchplate has a triangular perforation. L 30 mm. Mackreth 2011, 33, LD, form 3.
128. FIG. 61.128, SF 6162. (11755), ?floor surface; Period 1. Spring-cover damaged; spring, pin and most of catchplate missing; bow bent. Round-headed, plain D-section bow. L 30 mm, W 13 mm. Mackreth 2011, 36, LD form 8.
129. FIG. 61.129, SF 3668. (5022), garden waste/dump. Spring-cover damaged, most of spring and catchplate missing. Plain spring-cover; square-headed bow angling downwards to a sharp turn onto the bow; centre of bow recessed and with traces of a wavy line in the groove. L 34 mm, W 12 mm. Probably a Mackreth LD form 8, as above.
130. FIG. 61.130, SF 3758. (3925), gravel make-up. Complete apart from end of pin and some damage to spring-cover. Spring-cover plain; round-headed, with a sharp downward turn to the tapering bow; solid catchplate. L 32 mm.

Spring-cover brooch fragments

131. SF 5883. (11040), fill of Ditch 11631; Period 0. Plain spring-cover with spring. W 19 mm. Bow was narrow, so probably from a lion bow or Cravat type, but see the small Langton Downs No. 128 (SF 6162) and No. 119 (SF 6121) above.
132. SF 1255. (1905), make-up; Period 3. Flat, straight-sided, reeded bow fragment and stump of the catchplate with a large ?triangular perforation; probably from a Langton Down square-headed

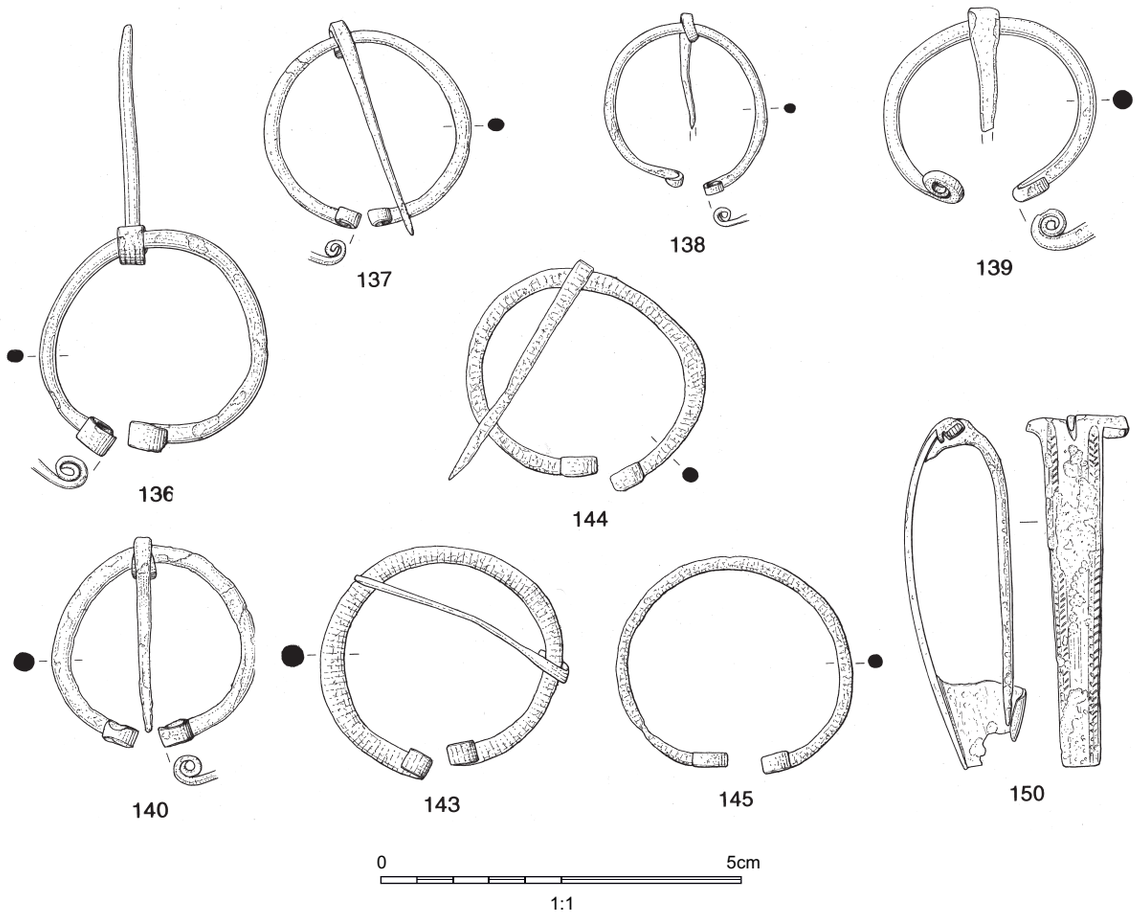

FIG. 62. Brooches 136–40, 143–5 and 150

brooch. L 27 mm. *CIT*, appendix 2, table 28. Period 3 Masonry Building 1, Object 50018, floor in Room 3.

133. SF 6049. (10200), fill of Pit 10770; Period 0, Pit Group 2. Reeded foot fragment with the stump of the catchplate. L 12 mm, W (edges missing) 8 mm.
134. SF 6973. (13589), accumulation; Period 1. Small fragments, possibly part of a spring-cover and spring. Largest piece 16 mm long, D 7 mm.

FIRST CENTURY A.D. (+)

Large plain penannular brooches of Fowler's Type C (1960, 152), with the terminals rolled back at right angles to the hoop, date perhaps from as early as the first century B.C. Mackreth considered that they continued in use to the later second century or even later (2011, 207, form c.2), but there is a distinct peak in the first century A.D. On Insula IX only a single pin from a Type C was stratified in Period 0, but, together with the high number of Iron Age bow brooches found in post-conquest contexts, it provides the basis on which Type Cs greater than 20 mm in diameter are included here. Seven of them are of iron, and several were found with Claudio-Neronian pottery, a further indication that most are probably early. The three remaining smaller pieces will be published in a subsequent volume. One of the iron brooches has been repaired with a copper-alloy pin (FIG. 62.143; SF 4930).

135. SF 6277. (11651), fill of Pit 11720; Period 0, Pit Group 4. Pin only. L 25 mm.
136. FIG. 62.136, SF 6985. (13593), accumulation; Period 1. Complete, pin open. Plain circular-section hoop. The pin-loop has slight marginal grooves. Max. D 30 mm, section 2 mm; pin L 33 mm.

137. FIG. 62.137, SF 6621. (13010), clay floor; Period 1. Complete, pin closed. Plain circular-section hoop. Pin-loop plain. Max. D 28 mm, section 1 mm; pin L 31 mm.
138. FIG. 62.138, SF 7516. (14651), occupation; Period 1. Complete apart from the end of the pin, which points towards the gap between the terminals. Plain circular-section hoop. Pin-loop plain. Max. D 21 mm, section 1 mm; pin L 16 mm.
139. FIG. 62.139, SF 5308. (8222), gravel surface; Period 1. Complete apart from the end of the pin, which points towards the gap between the terminals; distorted. Plain circular-section hoop. Pin-loop plain. Max. D 28 mm, section 2 mm; pin L 16 mm.
140. FIG. 62.140, SF 6029. (11353), occupation; Period 1. Complete, pin lying between terminals. Plain, circular-section hoop. Pin-loop plain. Max. D 28 mm, section 2 mm; pin L 26 mm.
141. SF 82. (1001), topsoil. Pin missing; plain circular-section hoop, distorted. Max. D 28 mm, section 1 mm.
142. SF 4365 (6243), cleaning. Pin missing; plain, circular-section hoop distorted. Max. D 23 mm, section 1 mm.
143. FIG. 62.143, SF 4930. (8320), no context details. Iron with copper-alloy pin, presumably a replacement for a broken iron original. Complete, pin closed. Plain circular-section hoop. Pin-loop plain. D 33 mm, section 3 mm; pin L 33 mm. Crummy 2016a, fig. 2, 3.
144. FIG. 62.144, SF 6151. (11108), fill of Pit 11107; Period 1. Iron. Complete apart from some damage to one terminal, pin closed. Plain circular-section hoop. Pin-loop plain. D 33 mm, section 2 mm; pin L 35 mm.
145. FIG. 62.145, SF 6312. (11771), cleaning. Iron. Pin missing. Plain circular-section hoop. D 32 mm, section 1.5 mm.
146. SF 6469. (12018), fill of Pit 12059; Period 1. Iron. Most of pin missing. Plain circular-section hoop. Pin-loop plain. D 33 mm, section 2 mm; pin L 8 mm.
147. SF 6816. (14501), cleaning. Iron. Distorted fragment, pin missing. D *c.* 30 mm, section 2 mm.
148. SF 3794. (4670), occupation; Period 1. Iron. Fragment, part of pin missing. D 27 mm, section 1.5 mm.
149. SF 6078. (10787), dump in Pit 11697; Period 1. Iron. Thin ring fragment; ?brooch hoop. D *c.* 34 mm, section 2.5 mm.

PRE-CONQUEST TO PRE-FLAVIAN?

An indigenous brooch of strip-bow form is included here as perhaps being of pre-conquest date, although good stratigraphic evidence for such a date is lacking. There is, however, no reason to suppose that any of the very large number of one-piece copper-alloy brooches (Nauheim Derivatives) dating from the conquest period to *c.* A.D. 80/5 are of pre-conquest origin, and they will be published in the Period 1 assemblage.

150. FIG. 62.150, SF 2726. (3762), no context details. Missing part of the head and the lower end of the catchplate; the pin is detached. The head is rolled under to take the iron axial bar on which the pin was hinged. The gently-curved bow has narrow marginal mouldings and knurled marginal grooves; it tapers slightly to a blunt foot. The catchplate is solid. L 47 mm. Mackreth 2011, 148, DURO form 5.a; he cites one unpublished pre-conquest example from Cleavel Point on Ower Bay, Dorset (no. 6620).

UNATTRIBUTABLE FRAGMENTS

Six of these fragments are of iron and are included here as they almost certainly belong to either the sprung *Drahtfibel*-derivative group or the hinged DURO form 7 and 8 group. Three pieces come from Period 0 contexts.

151. SF 6281. (11035), fill of Pit 11044; Period 1. One spring coil with the turn for the chord. D 6 mm.
152. SF 6439. (12714), fill of Pit 12696, Sample 6530; Period 0, Pit Group 3. Small fragment, possibly a flattened part of a brooch spring with the start of the pin. L 9 mm, W 3 mm, T 3 mm.
153. SF 6932. (12189), top fill of Ditch 111631; Period 0. Iron. Curved brooch pin, top missing. L 49 mm.
154. SF 6998. (12133), top fill of Ditch 11631; Period 0. Iron. Straight tapering wire fragment, broken at a curve at the top; probably a brooch pin. L 60 mm.

155. SF 6012. (11063), accumulation; Period 1. Complete pin turning at the top to form a spring coil. L (bent) 53 mm. Length suggests that this may be from a late Iron Age brooch.
156. SF 6133. (11039), levelling deposit; Period 1. Complete pin with two spring coils (right) and part of a superior chord from a one-piece brooch shorter than a Nauheim or Boss-on-bow. L 38 mm (tip bent), D 7 mm. Possibly from a first-century B.C. to early first-century A.D. *Drahtfibel*, as examples in Mackreth 2011, 21–2, form 1.a, pl. 11.
157. SF 4635. (7862), accumulation/fill of Cut 7411. Iron. Foot of a wire bow with narrow solid catchplate. L 30 mm. Probably a *Drahtfibel* Derivative or a hinged DURO 7 or 8.
158. SF 7122. (14018), levelling; Period 1. Iron. Foot of a wire bow with solid catchplate; bent. L 34 mm. A separate, narrow, slightly curved wire shank with tip found with it is probably the brooch pin. L 45 mm. Probably a *Drahtfibel* Derivative or a hinged DURO 7 or 8.
159. SF 2915. (4450), cleaning. Iron. Tapering brooch bow, probably from a *Drahtfibel* Derivative or a hinged DURO 7 or 8. L 45 mm.
160. SF 3032. (4565), accumulation. Iron. ?Brooch. Tapering rectangular-section strip similar to the reverse-curve bow of a *Drahtfibel* Derivative, but with a blunt foot on which there is no sign of a catchplate. The top narrows and bends downwards, but too little remains to show if it then turns upwards to form a spring coil. L 39 mm.

SOME ASPECTS OF THE ASSEMBLAGE

MATERIALS

Although copper-alloy brooches are in the majority in the Iron Age assemblage, 39 per cent (63 out of 160) are iron. A range of factors, such as the intensive level of excavation on the insula raising the artefact recovery rate, the fairly good preservation of iron in the Silchester gravels, and the programme of X-raying a substantial proportion of the ironwork each year may affect this result. This compares with 21 per cent of the forum basilica brooches of all periods of iron (also X-rayed), including the unnumbered and unillustrated pieces (20 out of 94 brooches; Corney 2000). Both assemblages show that in the late Iron Age and over the conquest period iron brooches formed an important element of Silchester's material culture, no doubt rooted in regional styles and traditions.

The Insula IX Iron Age copper-alloy brooches include both British-made forms (e.g. Colchesters) and imported forms (e.g. the spring-cover types). The latter point to trade links with the Continent, and may have entered Britain alongside consignments of wine amphorae and table wares, while at least some of the Colchesters may have been brought in from their heartland in Catuvellaunian eastern Britain during the invasion by Epaticcus. The Atrebatan association with iron brooches would be even stronger were it possible to prove that the three iron Colchesters in the assemblage are locally-made copies, but there are many iron Colchesters at Verulamium (Stead and Rigby 1989, 96–8; Niblett 2006, fig. 9).

Apart from the unattributable fragments, the Insula IX brooches in the catalogue are summarised here in graph form by number rather than percentage to emphasise the use of iron for brooches at Silchester (FIG. 63). These columns do not equate with the lettered groups in the next section (FIGS 64–6). None of the brooches in column 1 are necessarily locally-made, and all those in column 3 are imports from the Continent. It should be expected that the smiths of an *oppidum* of Calleva's size and status manufactured at least a limited range of brooches and there are few iron trumpet-headed brooches (column 2) from anywhere other than Silchester (Mackreth 2011, 10), providing a reasonable argument for their manufacture there. The same is true for the iron sprung brooches in column 4 (ibid., 22–3, forms 1.b.2–1.c.2). The iron hinged brooches of Durotrigan forms 7 and 8 in column 4 greatly increase the quantity of those brooches found in Hampshire, matching or outdoing the numbers from some counties within the Durotrigan zone itself (ibid., 150–1), suggesting that they too were made as well as used by the Atrebates. Also in column 4 are the three iron Colchesters and their copper-alloy counterparts. Penannular brooches in column 5 are split fairly evenly between the two metals; speculation that perhaps the copper-alloy examples reached Silchester via the Catuvellauni and the iron ones were locally-made is negated by the iron penannulars at Verulamium (Stead and Rigby 1989, 98). It has

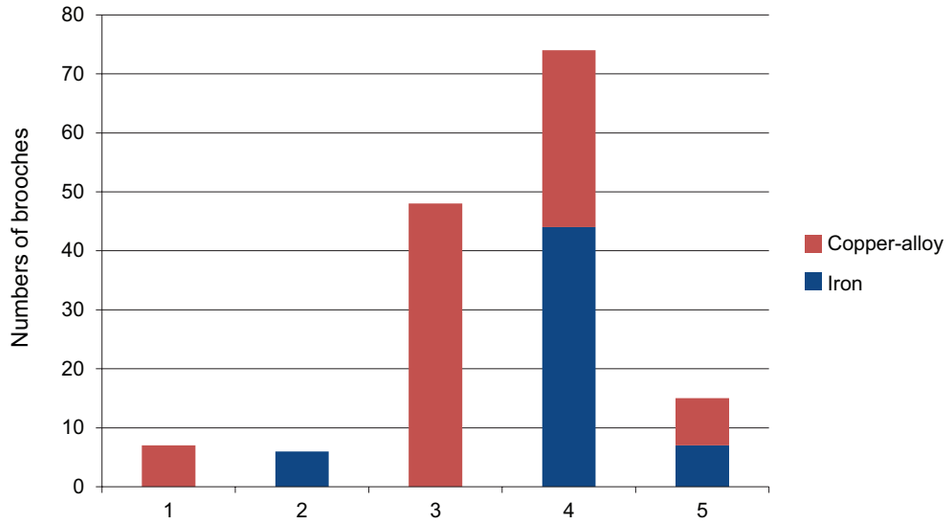

FIG. 63. Materials used for Iron Age brooches on Insula IX. 1 = brooches of the first century B.C. to early first century A.D.; 2 = late first-century B.C. to mid-first-century A.D. trumpet-headed brooches; 3 = early to mid-first-century A.D. imported spring-cover brooches; 4 = early to mid-first-century A.D. British-made brooches; 5 = penannular brooches.

been suggested that for trade reasons most copper-alloy spring-cover brooches may only have reached Silchester after *c.* A.D. 41/3 (pp. 113–14), and were column 3 to be removed from FIG. 63, iron would have been far and away the most preferred material for brooches in the *oppidum*.

How did iron come to be a popular material for brooches in Silchester? During the middle Iron Age there was a western cluster of iron brooches in southern Britain, no doubt influenced by the availability of iron ores there (Adams 2013, map 5.7; 2014, 175–7). Another concentration of iron brooches lay around the ore-bearing Jurassic ridge in the Northamptonshire/Lincolnshire region (Adams 2013, map 5.7; 2014, 178–9; Bayley *et al.* 2008, 4–5, fig. 2, a). At that period the area where Calleva was later to develop lay within a zone that produced no iron brooches at all, even though copper-alloy ones were well-represented. Once established, the settlement was in effect open to trade in both smelted iron and iron brooches sourced in the West. The high number of iron brooches found at Silchester from the end of the first century B.C. to the mid-first century A.D. can thus be linked to Durotrigan ironsmiths, descendants of the middle Iron Age brooch-makers of that region, finding a ready market in the growing population of Calleva. Atrebatan smiths may then have copied Durotrigan products using traded-in western iron, further increasing the numbers available for use. Non-local copper-alloy brooches such as Colchesters and the spring-cover types may have reduced the use of iron ones, but not suppressed them to the point that they were no longer a major feature of the local material culture.

STATUS

There is no reason to suppose that all users of iron brooches were necessarily of low status, even if a locally-made iron brooch may have been less costly than a non-local one of copper alloy. A case for an association with low status may be made by the iron penannular brooch that has a replacement copper-alloy pin (FIG. 62.143), as repairs noted on brooches on Insula IX from early Romano-British contexts have been attributed to lower-status individuals needing to preserve essential dress accessories at minimal cost (Crummy 2016a), but first-century B.C. and first-century A.D. iron brooch suites in burials at Westhampnett in West Sussex, Heybridge in Essex and King Harry Lane in Hertfordshire show that iron was not regarded as a low-status material in the late Iron Age (Montague 1997, 97, fig. 49, 20252; Crummy 2015a; Stead and Rigby 1989, 96–7, esp. R1-2, S1-2).

SIZE

Several of the brooches dating to the first half of the first century A.D. are complete, or even if incomplete, the full length or close to the full length is preserved. The measurements in the Catalogue show that imported brooches varied in size rather less than their British contemporaries and tended on the whole to be shorter, but not exceptionally short. The 13 British brooches in the sample range from 24 to 83 mm, but with only two below 48 mm and six of 69 mm and above. The shortest brooch is a Colchester of the dumpy short-late form (No. 34, FIG. 58.34), which is 55 mm shorter than the longest Colchester (No. 27, FIG. 58.27). The longest British brooches are both iron hinged DURO 7bs (No. 78, FIG. 67.2 and No. 83, unillus.). In contrast, the longest of the 17 imported brooches is a 66 mm Langton Down of Mackreth form 2 (No. 104, FIG. 71.36) and the shortest a 30 mm Langton Down of form 3 (No. 127, FIG. 61.127), with a cluster of eight brooches of various types (Rosette, Cravat, Simple Gallic and Langton Down) lying between 38 and 42 mm. The longest Langton Down has a fretted catchplate indicative of an early date both in Britain and on the Continent.

Based on a single burial from Rotherley, Mackreth (2011, 150) has suggested that the iron Durotrigan form 7b may have been used to fasten a 'kilt-like' garment around the hips. This may point to a regional style of dress that spread into Atrebatan territory along with the use of the iron brooch type used as a fastener (Crummy, below, p. 138) but the two Insula IX brooches seem rather too long to be worn in such a position. Jundi (1996, 62), in her study of the position of brooches within the Iron Age burials of the Yorkshire Wolds, suggested that the few examples found at the hips or on the lower arms were attached to folded textile rather than garments worn by the deceased. Such a practice is certainly evident in the conquest-period cremation burials at Stanway in Essex and may account for the position of the Rotherley brooch (Crummy *et al.* 2007, 176, 215, 254; Wild 2007, 347–9).

While there is a general tendency in brooches of this period to be long-early and short-late, it cannot be applied as an absolute rule. Variation between workshops, form, intended use and the status or age of the user may account for size differences as much as variation in date. For example, certain brooches, such as Cravats, tend to vary less in length than others, such as Rosettes (Feugère 1985, 182, types 18a and 19, pls 101–7). For Rosettes of his form 19a Feugère noted two distinct and deliberately-made sizes, one larger than the other (ibid., 292), while Langton Downs of form 14b fell into two marked clusters of large and small but with some examples falling between the two (ibid., 267). There were no obvious data attached to these brooches to provide the reason for these features, all of which are repeated in the British assemblage (see Mackreth 2011, pls 15–18, 20–21). As far as Insula IX is concerned, it can be said only that the complete imported brooches are representative of the standard range available.

BROOCHES AND RITUAL DEPOSITION

Four of the complete bow brooches were deposited when the pin was fixed in the closed position, that is, they were deliberately buried or abandoned rather than discarded because they no longer functioned effectively: Simple Gallic No. 15 (FIG. 57.15); Colchesters Nos 22, (FIG. 72.40) and 30 (FIG. 58.30); Rosette No. 96 (FIG. 58.96). Penannular brooches Nos 137, 143 and 144 (FIG. 62) may also have been closed when deposited, as the pin is braced against the hoop rather than angled towards the gap between the terminals.

The contexts of some of these brooches suggest that they were used in forms of ritual deposition already noted in the Romano-British period on Insula IX. The Simple Gallic came from levelling used to repair a Period 1 clay floor and the Rosette was incorporated into the wall for Early Roman Timber Building 2. They can be compared to two complete brooches, a complete knife, three complete toilet sets and possibly also a mason's trowel from Period 3 floor and wall contexts; the toilet sets attest to the second-century practice being rooted in British ritual traditions (Crummy 2011, 102–4, 125). Brooches 15 and 96 thus provide the expected link back into the first century A.D. for this form of ritual behaviour. Of the penannulars, No. 137 came from a floor and may be another example of this practice. Colchester 22 came from the

primary fill of Period 0 Pit 12462 along with a complete awl of Iron Age form, both representing votive deposits of a different kind (Ch. 6, Pit Group 1).

There are no context details for Penannular 143, No. 144 came from the upper fill of a pit, and Colchester 30 came from an early post-conquest occupation layer. Of these three brooches only the latter may prove to be another example of incorporating small personalia into buildings as post-excavation work on the Period 1 and 2 data continues. As damage does not preclude votive use, and deliberate damage may enhance an object's ritual value, other less well-preserved and also as yet unphased brooches from floors and levelling deposits may also turn out to belong to this tradition, such as Colchesters 31, 45 and 51; iron hinged brooch 89; and Langton Downs 108 and 120 (the former from a roundhouse floor).

THE ASSEMBLAGE IN CONTEXT

Plouviez's broad typological groups (2008) were used for a preliminary study of the entire Insula IX brooch assemblage before excavation had been completed (Crummy 2012), and her method is used again here for comparison. She did not include penannular brooches in her work. Some changes to her groups have been made, chiefly to allow the Iron Age and early Roman military brooches to stand out more strongly and to highlight differences between Silchester and other urban assemblages. Group C has here been used only for Birdlip brooches, with the conquest-period military forms that she placed with them transferred to Group I (Plouviez 2008, 171), Groups G and M have been combined, and châtelaine brooches have been moved from Group W to Group Z. Group D consists of late Iron Age one-piece sprung brooches (Colchesters and *Drahtfibel* Derivatives), Group E of Roman-period, one-piece sprung brooches (Nauheim Derivatives). A new Group, Mackreth's Durotrigan series (DURO), has been introduced between Groups D and E for iron hinged brooches.

The data for the urban assemblages used as comparative material come from various sources. Unclassified brooches have generally been omitted. Mackreth (2011, serial list on CD) has been used for: Verulamium, including Prae Wood, Wheathampstead, the King Harry Lane settlement and cemetery, Folly Lane and Gorhambury; Baldock; Winchester; and Chichester, including Westhampnett and Fishbourne. Hull (in prep.) has been used for Colchester, both Iron Age Camulodunum and the Roman town, supplemented by Bayley and Butcher (1985) and Crummy (1983, 1992 and 2007). Data for Silchester as a whole combine the Insula IX and forum basilica assemblages (Corney 2000) with that from Silchester listed by Hull. Most of the latter are held by Reading Museum, but Hull also catalogued some brooches held at Stratfield Saye from drawings in the Rev. J.G. Joyce's diary of his excavations during the 1860s and 1870s.

INSULA IX : SILCHESTER

The chief, and very clear, difference between the Insula IX brooch assemblage as it stood at the end of the 2009 excavation season (Crummy 2012, fig. 7.13) and as it is now, is an increase in the number of Iron Age, one-piece, sprung brooches present in Group D and the introduction of Group DURO (FIG. 64, top). This has pushed the level of the imported spring-cover brooches down in Group B. The percentage of Group A brooches appears little changed between 2009 and 2014, but it should be stressed that within Silchester, eleven Group As come from the Insula IX and forum basilica excavations compared to eight from the earlier town-wide excavations. The striking difference between Groups A and B+D represents the so-called brooch-event horizon (Hill 1995; but see Adams 2013, 122, 245; Cool and Baxter 2016, 85–6). Group A could have been increased by the addition of the iron trumpet-headed brooches present in Group D, some of which may pre-date A.D. 1, but there is no stratigraphic evidence to support an early date in the range for any of these brooches and a median one has consequently been preferred. The quantity of brooches recovered and their impact on the Insula IX graph stress the major contribution the recent excavations at Silchester have made in recovering data from within the *oppidum*, and above all provide good evidence of first-century B.C. and early first-century A.D. occupation in the area.

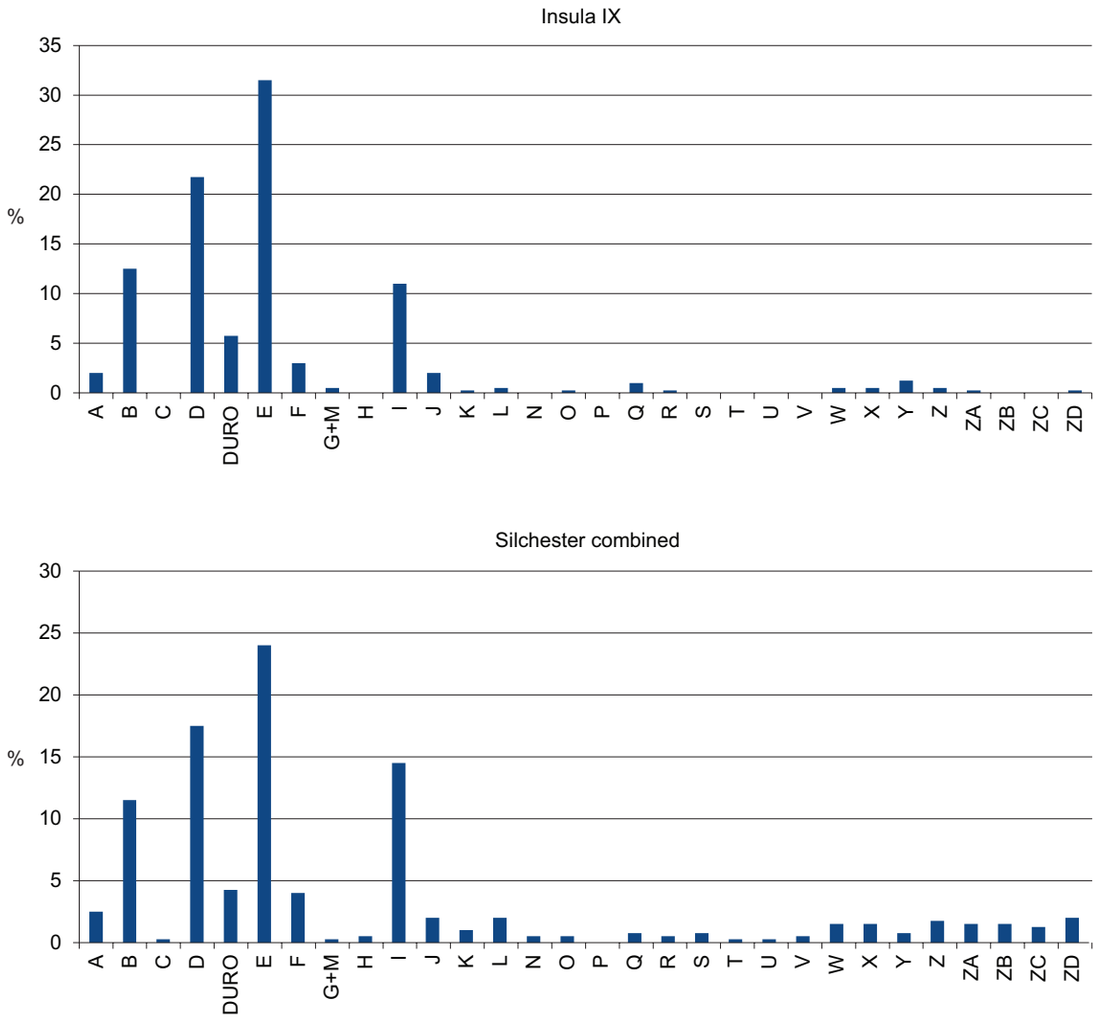

FIG. 64. The Iron Age and Romano-British brooch assemblages from Insula IX (top) and the combined Silchester assemblage (bottom), as percentages. Total numbers of brooches used: Insula IX, 317; Silchester combined, 720. Types are adapted from Plouviez 2008. A = Boss-on-bow and Nauheim brooches; B = spring-cover brooches; C = Birdlips; D = Colchesters, Trumpet heads, *Drahtfibeln* and other one-piece sprung brooches; DURO = iron hinged brooches of Mackreth 2011 DURO forms 7–8; E = copper-alloy Nauheim derivatives and similar types; F = Colchester sprung derivatives; G+M = Dolphin/Rearhook and Colchester hinged derivatives; H = Aesicas; I = Eye and Strongly-profiled brooches, Aucissas, Hod Hills and Bagendons; J = early plates; K = Polden Hills; L = early T-shaped; N = Trumpets; O = Headstuds; P = Dragonesques; Q: developed T-shaped; R = Alcesters and similar types; S = Trumpet/Headstud related; T = enamelled hinged bow types; U = hinged equal-ended; V = continental disc types; W = umbonate discs; X = British flat discs; Y = applied repoussé plates; Z = zoomorphic and skeuomorphic; ZA = Knees; ZB = gilded plates; ZC = late P-shaped; ZD = Crossbows.

The percentage of post-conquest, Group E, copper-alloy Nauheim Derivatives noted in 2012 is still high, but it has been reduced to closer to the Silchester average, as predicted (FIG. 64, bottom; Crummy 2012, 121). How far the Group E brooches may be identified as imports and how many may have been used by the Roman military will be explored in Period 1. The level of the Group I conquest-period military brooches such as Aucissas and Hod Hills has stayed the same, and the contemporary indigenous forms in Groups F, G+M and H are still poorly represented. Group J early plate brooches that appeared at the conquest now match the Silchester average. The paucity of brooches from Group K onwards seen in both the Insula IX and Silchester combined assemblages matches the general decline in brooch use in southern

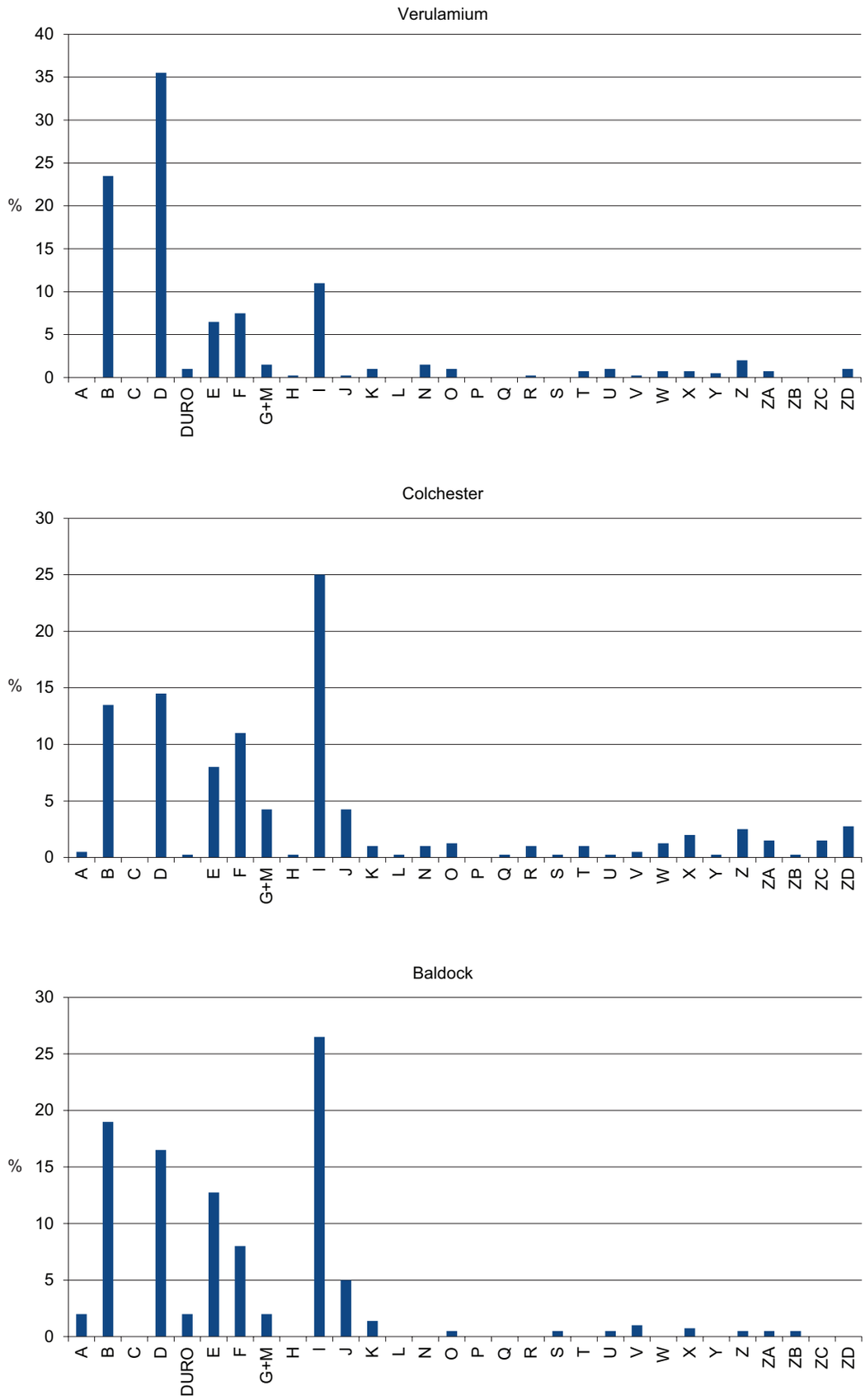

FIG. 65. The Iron Age and Romano-British brooch assemblages from Verulamium (top), Colchester (centre) and Baldock (bottom), as percentages. Total numbers of brooches used: Verulamium, 440; Colchester, 830; Baldock, 266. For types see FIG. 64.

Britain from the later first century onwards (FIG. 65, Plouviez 2008, fig. 4.1.2; and see Cool and Baxter 2016 for a wider view).

SILCHESTER : VERULAMIUM : COLCHESTER : BALDOCK

Comparing the Silchester combined figures for groups A–DURO with those from three eastern settlements, Verulamium, Colchester and Baldock, reveals some slight but important differences (FIG. 64, bottom; FIG. 65). Baldock has a similar percentage of Group A brooches to Silchester, the Colchester percentage is rather lower, and Verulamium has no Group As at all, matching Niblett's suggestion that early *Verlamion* was 'relatively undistinguished' (2006, 19). In terms of Group B, the imported spring-covers, again Silchester has much the same percentage as Colchester, with both figures suppressed by high numbers of early post-conquest brooches: Group E at Silchester, the military Group I at the fortress and veterans' colony at Colchester, and perhaps also Group I at Baldock. The percentages of Group B brooches from Verulamium and Baldock suggest that a substantial proportion of the spring-covers entering Britain through the port at Camulodunum was moved onwards to inland Catuvellaunian markets.

As we have seen above, the figure for Silchester Group D is raised by locally-made one-piece, sprung iron brooches as well as Colchesters, while the latter dominate Group D at the three other settlements within the Catuvellaunian/Trinovantian territory that forms the heartland of the type. Three unfinished Colchesters have been found at Baldock, but the form would have been made by several smiths in several settlements over its period of popularity (Stead and Rigby 1986, 122). The percentage of Colchesters is particularly high at Verulamium, increased by the numbers from the King Harry Lane cemetery (Niblett 2006, figs 9–10; Plouviez 2008, fig. 4.1.3, left top and bottom). Group DURO, arguably allied to Group D, but consisting of iron hinged brooches, is highest at Silchester, but has a presence at all the other three sites. As more such brooches are discovered, the attribution of the form to the Durotriges may well be diluted.

In the post-conquest groups it has already been noted that Colchester's military history is evident in the number of Group I brooches (chiefly Aucissas and Hod Hills), and the use of a larger sample from Baldock than that used by Plouviez in 2008 (266 : 128) has made Group I dominant there too, while reducing Group E so much that it now conforms more to the Catuvellaunian/Trinovantian norm than to Silchester (Crummy 2012, 122). As would be expected, the Romano-British Colchester derivatives (Groups F and G+M) are better-represented in the three eastern settlements that lie within their main distribution area than they are at Silchester.

Of all these differences and similarities, the most pertinent to Silchester Period 0 are first, the Group A brooches that indicate solid first-century B.C. occupation at Silchester, and second, the balance between imported spring-cover brooches and British-made one-piece sprung brooches. The indigenous forms are clearly in the ascendant at both Silchester and Verulamium, with the proportion between the two groups much the same, centred at about 10 per cent. If these figures are an accurate representation of the balance in demand for both brooch groups, then they should also embody the impact of continental trade on the brooch choice within the two populations. Were the market spread over decades, as seems to be the case at Verulamium judging by the phasing of the King Harry Lane burials (Stead and Rigby 1989, 91–5), then it cannot be said that native smiths necessarily suffered a sudden loss in trade to the imports. The picture at Silchester appears to be rather different. Phasing on Insula IX indicates that the great majority of both spring-covers and Group D brooches come from post-conquest contexts. Although survivals in use on any site would not be immediately discarded with a change of regime, particularly within a client kingdom, this contextual distribution raises the possibility that in the early 40s Insula IX, if not Silchester as whole, saw both an increase in the number of imported spring-cover brooches and an increase in the manufacture of Group Ds, perhaps matched by an increase in the population. As dated brooch finds in the east point to trade between Camulodunum and the Gallo-Roman brooch-makers ceasing either at the death of Cunobelin or at the conquest (Crummy 2007, 316), it seems reasonable to suppose that the makers opened up a new market with the client kingdom of the Atrebates. At the same time, with the defeat of the eastern tribes

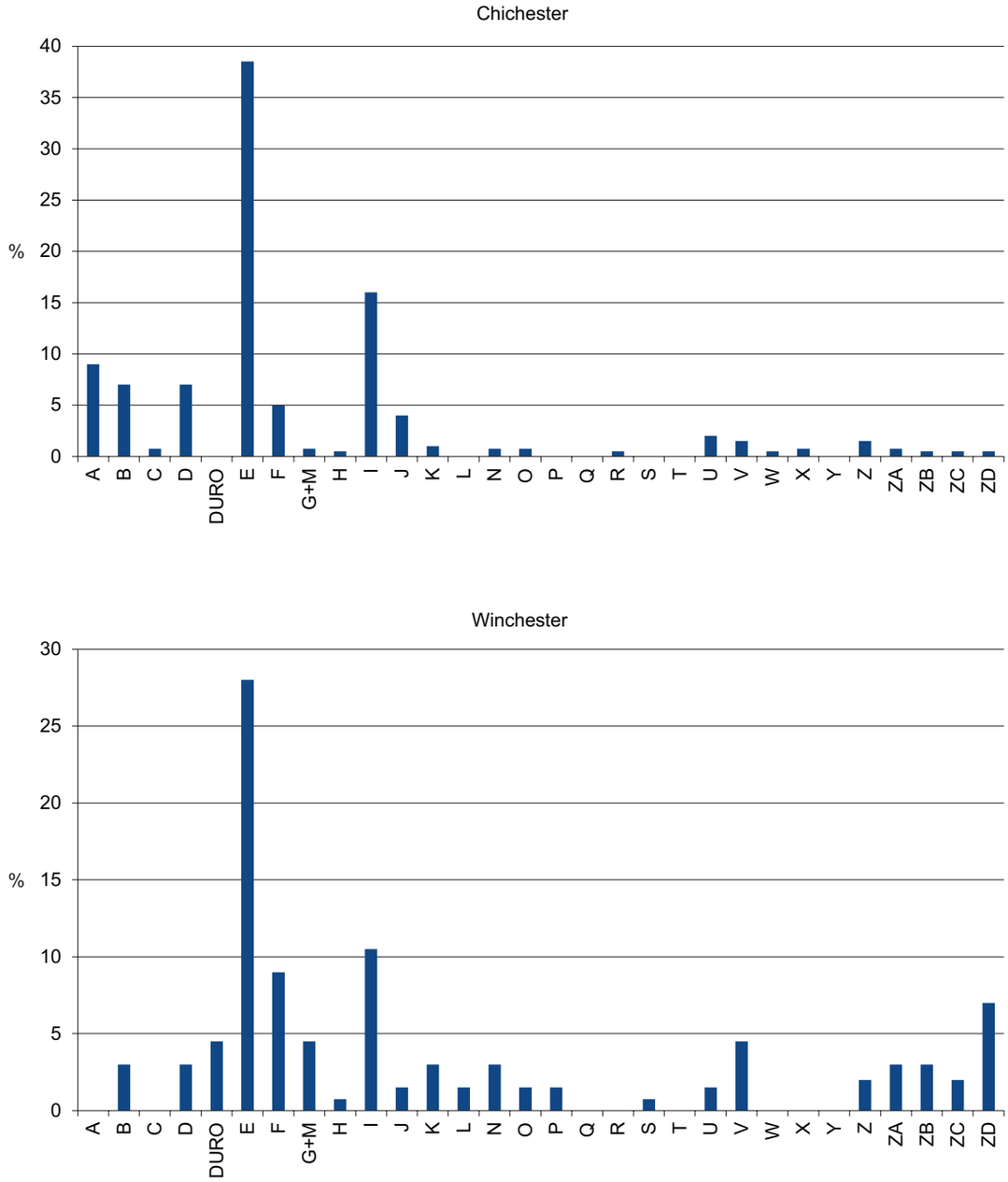

FIG. 66. The Iron Age and Romano-British brooch assemblages from Chichester, including Westhampnett and Fishbourne (top), and Winchester (bottom), as percentages. Total numbers of brooches used: Chichester, 263; Winchester, 132. For types see FIG. 64.

and the creation of the client kingdom, the population and economy of Calleva would have been able to flourish in a comparatively peaceful environment.

SILCHESTER : CHICHESTER : WINCHESTER

Comparing Silchester with the towns of Chichester and Winchester allows its distinctively southern features to be stressed, as well as highlighting aspects of its Iron Age/early post-conquest brooch use (FIG. 66). The Chichester data include both Fishbourne and the important late Iron Age cemetery finds from Westhampnett, with the latter providing the strong presence of Group A brooches, although two Nauheims also came from Chichester itself (Mackreth 2011, nos 3944

and 4111). Group B and D brooches were found at Fishbourne and Chichester, but not in large numbers, and the post-conquest, copper-alloy Nauheim Derivatives of Group E dominate the assemblage. Military brooches of Group I also form a reasonably strong presence. There are no Group A brooches from Winchester, and the few of Groups B, D and DURO presumably represent the survivals in use of the first inhabitants of the new town. Again there is a reasonably high percentage of military brooches and again Group Es form by far the largest part of the assemblage. The proportions of several post-conquest groups are worth noting: F, G+M, and the late Roman ZA-ZD in particular. All are boosted by the low percentages of the Iron Age types, and many of the ZDs (Crossbows) by grave goods from the Lankhills cemetery (Clarke 1979).

Set against these two towns, Silchester shows its solid late Iron Age antecedents. Given the impact on the Chichester graph by Westhampnett, were a Silchester late Iron Age cemetery to be excavated its grave deposits would raise the proportions of the pre-conquest forms still higher. The adoption of the one-piece, copper-alloy Nauheim Derivatives by all three southern British towns is striking. Their cultural affinity and impact on Insula IX will be addressed in the volume covering Silchester's Period 1.

CONCLUSION

Even if few of Insula IX's Iron Age brooches were stratified in Period 0 contexts, the assemblage as a whole provides a glimpse into the early history of Calleva and the cultural and economic influences upon its population. From the two standard copper-alloy forms of the first century B.C. (Boss-on-bow and Nauheim), there was a shift to the use of one-piece iron brooches (Trumpet head and *Drahtfibel* Derivatives), probably first acquired from the Durotriges to the west and then manufactured within the *oppidum*. Influence and invasion from the east is evident in the Catuvellaunian one-piece sprung Colchester brooches, and finally, continental spring-cover brooches, perhaps initially acquired via the Catuvellauni, point to trade with Gallo-Roman brooch-makers.

Simplified and to some extent speculative, this view of Silchester's engagement with the major dress accessory of the late Iron Age through the Insula IX assemblage is supported by comparisons with other British and Romano-British settlements in eastern and southern Britain. The importance of iron brooches in the pre- and early post-conquest periods provides a measure of balance to the Romano-British and copper-alloy-biased collection in Reading Museum gathered by the Victorian excavators.

CHAPTER 6

THE SMALL FINDS

By Nina Crummy

INTRODUCTION

The small finds are briefly summarised below by features or context groups and are catalogued by context group in a series of tables in Appendix 1. They are first described here by context group, and then by functional category. The large number of Iron Age brooches from Insula IX, most of which were not stratified in Period 0 contexts, are briefly listed in Chapter 5 and set in the context of brooch assemblages from other sites both within Silchester and across southern Britain.

A prominent, and unexpected, characteristic of the Period 0 assemblage is the number of iron hobnails from leather footwear that were recovered. Iron Age leather was cured and does not survive burial except in very exceptional acidic conditions, such as peatbogs, nor could cured skins or hides be used to make nailed soles (Groenman-van Waateringe *et al.* 1999; van Driel-Murray 2000, 303–4; Harris 2011, 57–8). The introduction of tanning and the appearance in archaeological contexts of the more complex leather-working techniques it allowed, such as nailed composite soles, is well documented and matches the closely dated advance of conquest and Romanisation in the North-Western provinces (van Driel-Murray 2001, 56; 2008, 487). Nailed footwear in Britain is, therefore, a reliable indicator of a post-conquest date, with most hobnails in early conquest-period contexts likely to derive from Roman military boots (*caligae*). Early civilian shoes and sandals could also be nailed and may have been produced by retired army shoemakers (Rhodes 1980; van Driel-Murray 2001, 58).

The presence of some of the hobnails in Insula IX Period 0 can be explained by the nature of the site and its features. There are a considerable number from Ditch 11631, which had been much disturbed by later activity; several came from the fill of post-holes and would have arrived there after the posts had decayed or been removed; some came from landscape features, such as the trackway gullies, that would have remained open after Period 0 to be only gradually backfilled; others were in Period 1 or later material that had settled into pits and wells. Some of these contexts also contained other post-conquest artefacts or Claudio-Neronian pottery, including stamped samian wares, confirming that the hobnails they produced postdate *c.* A.D. 40–3. However, prolonged deposition and the movement of soil and the debris it contained does not account for all the hobnails, and reasons for their presence in such numbers in the pre-conquest features such that they form an almost ubiquitous element in the soil scraped up as backfill are explored in the Discussion.

DITCH 11631

The earliest datable object from Ditch 11631 (Table 35) is a copper-alloy Boss-on-bow brooch (FIG. 67.1; SF 7488), a form associated with the Aylesford-Swarling culture, with both precious and base metal examples occurring in burials and in hoards (Crummy 2007, 315). Also referred to as *Knotenfibeln*, the internal chord and fully rounded boss of SF 7488 places it within Type 8a in Feugère's classification (1985, 237–8, pl. 71) and within Late La Tène (Late La T) form 1.a2 in Mackreth's (2011, 9). Close parallels are unusual within the group, but the use on SF 7488 of both a step below the boss and then vertical decoration down the bow also occurs on a brooch from the Mill Hill cemetery at Deal (Stead 1976, 404, no. 4, fig. 2.2). The date range of the form is not closely defined, but in Britain the start date seems unlikely to pre-date *c.* 100–90

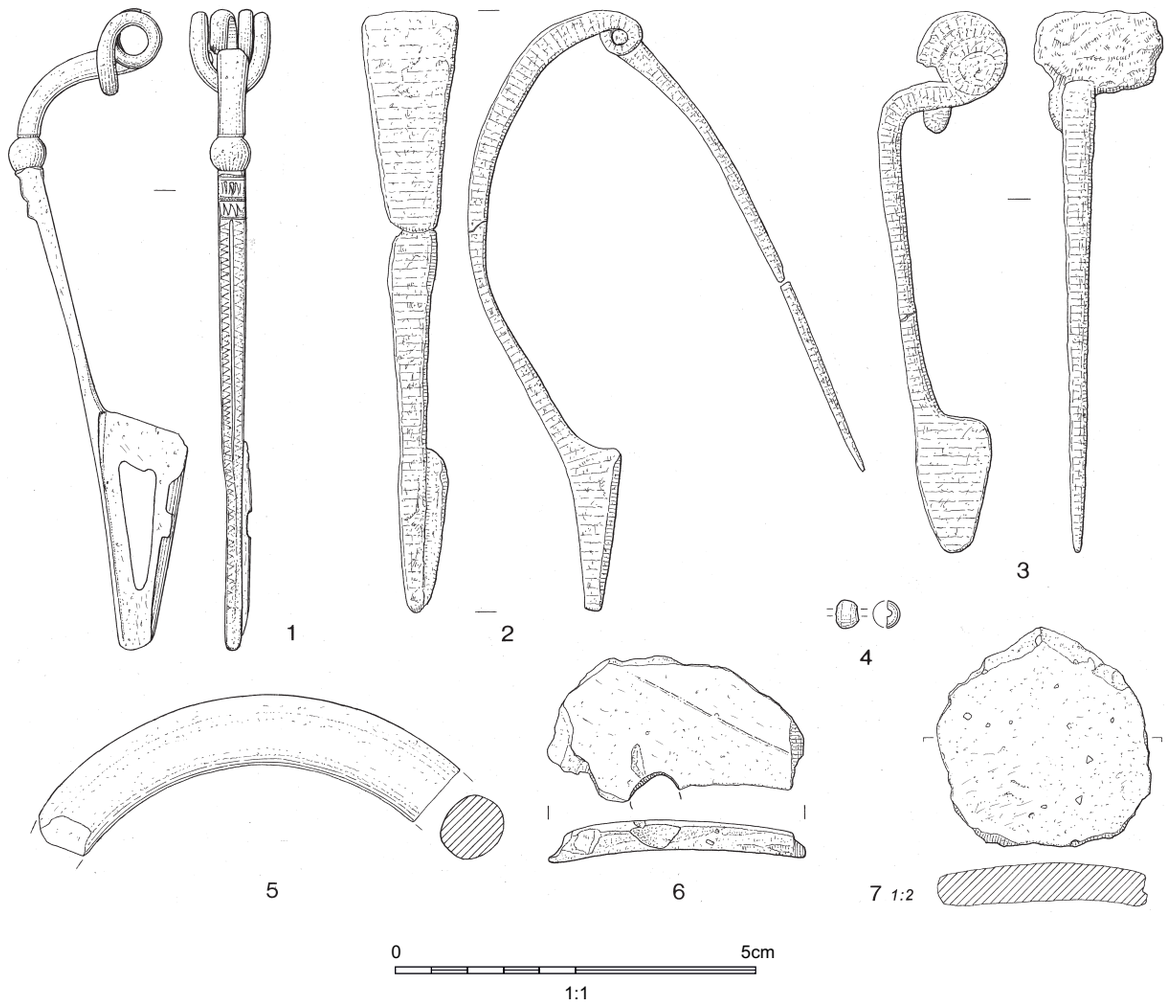

FIG. 67. Small finds from Ditch 11631 (Nos 1–7).

B.C. and the closing date is probably *c.* 25–20 B.C. (Fitzpatrick and Megaw 1987, 437; Fitzpatrick 1997, 204; Haselgrove 1997, fig. 8.1; Colin 1998, 39). The boss of the Insula IX brooch is set high on the bow, and both this feature and the internal chord are generally taken to indicate a date late in the series, perhaps *c.* 60–25/20 B.C., supported by the use of copper alloy, the good quality manufacture and elegant decoration (Crummy 2007, 315; Mackreth 2011, 13). An iron Boss-on-bow brooch from a Phase 3 (*c.* A.D. 40–60) grave in the King Harry Lane cemetery, Verulamium, might point to a later closing date for the form, not least because it was found with a Colchester brooch dating to *c.* A.D. 10–40/50, but it may be a later derivative (Stead and Rigby 1989, 97, 306, fig. 50, R1, fig. 110, 124.3–4). Mackreth's rephasing of King Harry Lane Phase 3 to *c.* A.D. 35–50/5 (1994, 288; 2011, 243–52) is more suited to the date of the Colchester but does little to clarify the dating of the iron Boss-on-bow brooch. The Silchester Insula IX brooch shares few features with that from King Harry Lane, and there is little reason to suppose that it does not date to round about the third quarter of the first century B.C.

A tiny fragment of small interlocked iron links (SF 6366, not illus.) probably comes from a chain fixed between a pair of brooches or perhaps a more complex ensemble. The form of the chain is uncertain but it is unlikely to be of loop-in-loop type as only precious metal examples have been found so far in late Iron Age Britain. A thin gold loop-in-loop chain linked at least one of the two pairs of brooches in the Winchester hoard and the two necklace torcs in the hoard were also made using the loop-in-loop technique (Hill *et al.* 2004, figs 1, 14). Silver loop-in-loop chains linked brooches from the Great Chesterford hoard and from cremation burials

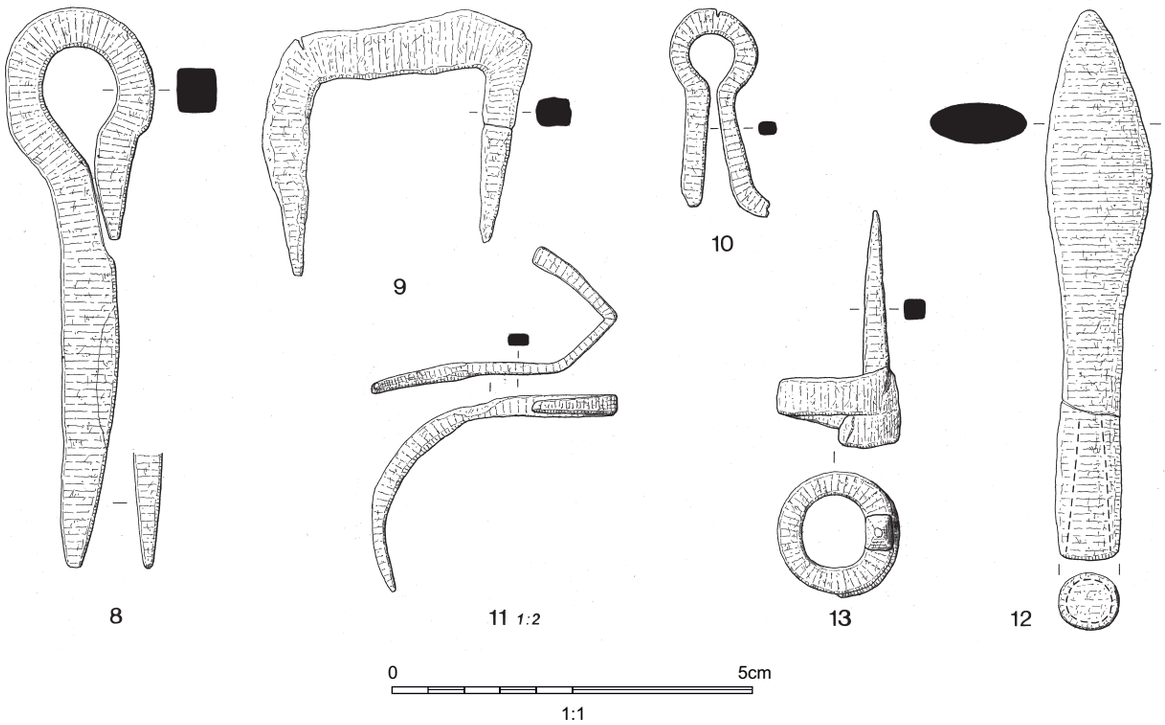

FIG. 68. Small finds from Ditch 11631 (Nos 8–13).

at Westhampnett, West Sussex (Krämer 1971, Taf. 24; Montague 1997, 96–7, fig. 93.20471). In contrast, iron chains linking pairs of brooches or brooch-and-ring ensembles had simple round or oval links, with examples again coming from Westhampnett and also from Heybridge in Essex, all dating to the first century B.C. (Montague 1997, 97, fig. 49.20252; Crummy 2015a). SF 6366 may also date to this period but could be later, as the practice of linking brooch pairs with chains continued into the first and second centuries A.D. in Britain (Stead and Rigby 1986, fig. 27.4–5; Hattatt 1989, fig. 185.958; Johns 1996, 149, 161, 195–6).

Two iron brooches from the ditch date to within a broad range running from the late first century B.C. into the Claudian period or later. With some contexts from the ditch fill containing Claudio-Neronian pottery, neither can be closely dated. One is hinged and is complete apart from the end of the pin (FIG. 67.2; SF 6480). It belongs to Mackreth's Durotrigan form 7.b (2011, 150, DURO 7.b), with the head rolled under to hold the axial bar. Examples are concentrated within the territory of the Durotriges but they are also well-represented among the Atrebates, with another nine having been found on Insula IX and several from the forum basilica, where the earliest are from Claudio-Neronian contexts (Corney 2000, 325, fig. 149.7–9). The other is of simple, wire-bowed, sprung form (FIG. 67.3; SF 7001) and falls within Mackreth's *Drahtfibel* Derivative group (2011, 22–3), probably his DD 1.b2 rather than the slightly thicker DD 1.c2. With 20 examples in total, the form is again well-represented on Insula IX and this excavation makes a significant addition to the few from Hampshire listed in either of Mackreth's groups (only four and two respectively), at least some of which, perhaps all, are from the forum basilica site (Corney 2000, 325, 327, fig. 150.17–22; the details of nos 17 and 20 are obscured by corrosion). The forum basilica examples are from contexts ranging in date from the first century B.C. to the Claudio-Neronian period, spanning the entire period of production.

A fourth brooch from Ditch 11631 is represented only by a corroded copper-alloy spring-cover, still retaining the spring (SF 5883, not illus.), that is all that remains of a brooch with a narrow upper bow. It may have been of lion-bow or Cravat type, or perhaps a particularly small example of a Langton Down (see, for example, Hattatt 1989, figs 165–6). Spring-cover

brooches of these and other forms were imported from Gaul, chiefly over the period *c.* A.D. 10–40, with those still in use at the conquest probably lost or discarded by *c.* A.D. 50 (Crummy 2007, 315–16; Mackreth 2011, 30, 33–4). There are many spring-cover brooches of various types from Silchester, and they may have continued in use in the client kingdom of the Atrebates for rather longer than among the conquered tribes (see Ch. 5).

There are at least two brooch pins from Ditch 11631, and other thin shank fragments may derive from brooch pins or needles. Other dress accessories are an imported small dark blue biconical bead (FIG. 67.4, SF 7847) and fragments of two plain shale armlets, both incomplete (FIG. 67.5, SF 6984; SF 6987, not illus.). No close date can be attributed to any of these pieces, but the bead is unlikely to pre-date the second quarter of the first century A.D. and may be later, while the armlets are Durotrigan products with a wide date range from the Iron Age well into the Romano-British period and in this context are most likely to be late Iron Age (Calkin 1949; 1955; Denford 2000).

Four objects are made from recycled sherds of Silchester ware, two of which are pierced. One pierced fragment has a rough edge and is broken across the central hole, which was drilled from the outside only and barely penetrated the inner face, if at all (FIG. 67.6, SF 7093). Probably intended for use as a spindlewhorl, the sherd broke when the hole was being drilled. Spindlewhorl holes were usually drilled from both sides, producing a characteristic figure-of-eight-shaped profile. The other pierced piece is complete, 35 mm in diameter, and has a roughly-shaped edge (SF 6317, not illus.). Its figure-of-eight-shaped hole shows signs of wear but with a central diameter of only 2 mm it could only have taken a thread or a thin leather thong rather than a wooden spindle. The other pieces are a sherd 60 mm in diameter with a roughly-shaped edge (FIG. 67.7, SF 7051), and a base 61 mm in diameter, also roughly trimmed but with some parts of the vessel body still remaining (SF 7055, not illus.). See the Discussion (p. 140) for the use of recycled sherds.

Apart from a fragment of a small copper-alloy ring of D-shaped section, all the remaining objects from the fill of Ditch 11631 are iron. They include fittings from wooden objects or structures, such as a complete loop-headed spike (FIG. 68.8, SF 7473), two joiner's dogs, one complete and one damaged (FIG. 68.9, SF 6496; SF 6682, not illus.), two split-spike loops (FIG. 68.10, SF 6511; SF 6499, not illus.), and a possible wall-hook (FIG. 68.11, SF 6064). A small spearhead from the top fill of the ditch may be an indigenous weapon rather than one belonging to the Roman army (FIG. 68.12, SF 7477), but a goad-prick from a dump in the top fill is a typical Romano-British item (FIG. 68.13, SF 6632) and a number of hobnails from the uppermost contexts in the ditch are also likely to be post-conquest.

POST-HOLE STRUCTURES AND ALIGNMENTS

Iron hobnails came from the fills of post-holes in Structures 1, 3–7, Post-hole Alignment 1 and an unnumbered post-hole alignment; most were associated with Claudio-Neronian pottery (Table 36). Other finds are not numerous and mainly consist of small pieces of undatable scrap metal. A small black (dark brown) glass bead, perhaps an import, came from an unnumbered post-hole alignment (SF 7416).

THE TRACKWAYS

Many of the small finds from Trackway 1 were from contexts that also contained Claudio-Neronian pottery (Table 37). The assemblage includes several hobnails, some lead-working waste, an iron joiner's dog and other fittings, a copper-alloy boss or stud that had probably once been fitted to a box or chest (FIG. 69.14, SF 6636), an iron L-shaped lift-key (FIG. 69.15, SF 6626), and a well-worn, recycled pottery spindlewhorl. The key is post-conquest and was associated with Claudio-Neronian pottery. Four brooches came from this trackway. One is a copper-alloy, late Iron Age Nauheim (FIG. 69.16, SF 6090) belonging within a date range from the second half of the first century B.C. to *c.* A.D. 25, and another is a copper-alloy late Iron Age to early Roman ribbon-bow with plain bow (FIG. 69.17, SF 6170). The dating of ribbon-bows is discussed under Structure 9. The other two brooches are both post-conquest, copper-alloy, Nauheim Derivatives and are both from Context 12027 which contained Claudio-Neronian pottery.

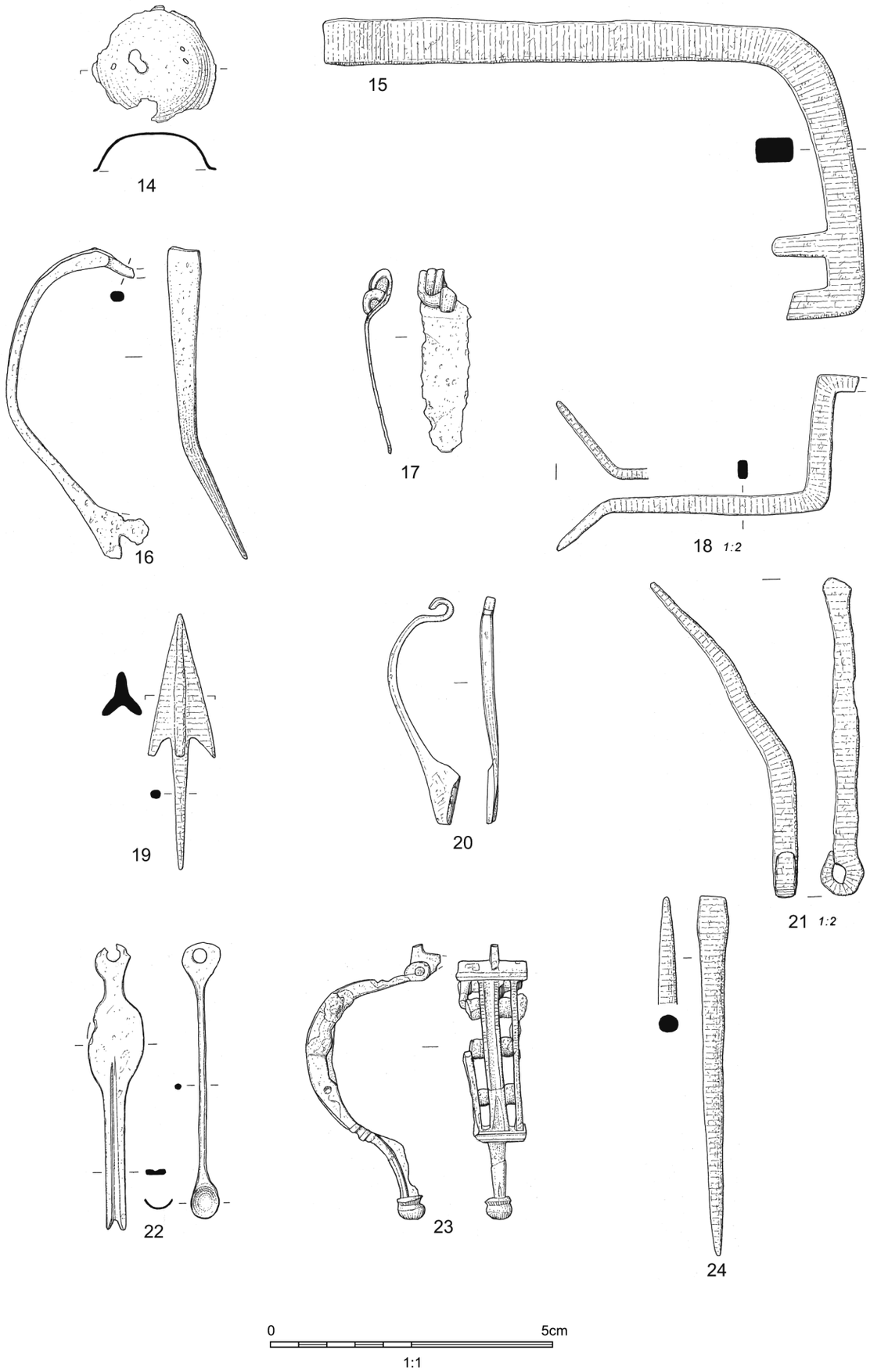

FIG. 69. Small finds from Trackways 1 and 2 (Nos 14–24).

A number of finds also came from post-holes associated with the modification to Trackway 1. An iron bar that may be a rudimentary wall-hook came from Post-hole Alignment 5 (FIG. 69.18, SF 6118), and from the fill of a post-pipe in the same alignment came part of an iron *Drahtfibel* Derivative (SF 6152), broadly dated from the first half of the first century A.D. into the Claudio-Neronian period (Mackreth 2011, 22–3). Also from Alignment 5 is a Roman military, triple-ribbed, iron arrowhead (FIG. 69.19, SF 6583), the form most in use by the army at the time of the invasion of Britain (Manning 1985, 177; Bishop and Coulston 2006, 88, fig. 46); Claudio-Neronian pottery came from the same context.

From the levelling over Ditch 11631 of Trackway 2 came an iron joiner's dog and strip fragment, and part of a post-conquest, copper-alloy Nauheim Derivative brooch (FIG. 69.20, SF 6350). The fill of Wheel-rut 9750 contained some copper-alloy sheet and a post-conquest Manning Type 3 nail with small T-shaped head. Most of the small finds from this trackway were from the fills of the adjacent ditches, and Claudio-Neronian pottery was present in several of the contexts. The assemblage contains hobnails, the tongue of an iron harness buckle, iron strip and sheet fragments, part of the iron handle from a bucket or other vessel (FIG. 69.21, SF 5194), and a late Iron Age Colchester brooch that is dated broadly to *c.* A.D. 10–40/50 but because of its small size is likely to be late within that range. Among the objects from northern Ditch 9674 are an incomplete copper-alloy toilet set (FIG. 69.22, SF 5415), part of a post-conquest copper-alloy/iron Bagendon brooch (FIG. 69.23, SF 5406), and an iron stylus (FIG. 69.24, SF 5425). The stylus is a first- to second-century form that may be pre-conquest (see Discussion, p. 141; Manning 1985, 85, Type 1; Obrecht 2012, 101, 123–5, Formgruppe C22). Whether pre- or post-conquest, given the early date of its context, it can be viewed as an import, as is also the case with the Bagendon brooch. The latter, with its divided bow and applied iron knobs may pre-date A.D. 43 on the Continent, but, as with Aucissa and early varieties of Hod Hill brooches, there are no unambiguous contextual grounds for supposing that those found in Britain are pre-conquest, while several come from securely dated Claudio-Neronian contexts (Mackreth 2011, 142). The toilet set, on the other hand, is a local product. It includes a swollen-bladed nail-cleaner typical of southern Britain and centred on the lands of the Durotriges (Eckardt and Crummy 2008, 122). In this region there is little reason to date any toilet sets to before *c.* A.D. 40 (ibid., 80–1, 89).

STRUCTURE 9

There are only six small finds from Structure 9, all from the backfill of its features and post-dating its period of use (Table 38).

An iron hobnail came from the fill of Foundation Trench 14500 and the other five items are all from gully fills. The earliest is a copper-alloy ribbon-bow brooch with reeded bow from Gully 16503 (FIG. 70.25, SF 7736). On this brooch type the spring is held by a forward hook as on Colchester and Simple Gallic brooches, but the bow is thin and flat and may be plain or reeded; a plain example came from Trackway 1 (see above). Stratified pre-conquest ribbon-bows dating *c.* A.D. 10–40/5 from Britain come from Puckeridge-Braughing and Kelvedon, but several are from post-conquest contexts, including five others from Silchester (Olivier 1988, 40, fig. 17.20: Rodwell 1988, 57, fig. 43.6; Mackreth 2011, 33, proto LD 1.b). All the latter have a plain bow: two are from Insula IX (Ch. 5, SFs 232 and 6771), a pair were found in a Period 3.3 context (*c.* A.D. 40–*c.* 50–60) on Silchester's forum basilica site and there is one other from the upper fill of an early Flavian pit beneath the bank behind the northern wall of the town (Corney 2000, 330, fig. 152.46–7; Cotton 1947, 144, fig. 7.16). A foot fragment from the forum basilica listed as this form by Mackreth is unusually wide and is instead identified by Corney as part of a Rosette brooch (Mackreth 2011, 33, proto LD 1.b no. 14976; Corney 2000, 330, fig. 152.50).

The other four objects are from Gully 11133: a copper-alloy Aucissa brooch, an iron hobnail, and a recycled pottery counter and spindlewhorl. On the Continent the Aucissa brooch first appears towards the end of the first century B.C. and is acknowledged as a form used by the Roman army (Feugère 1985, 323–4; Bertrand 2003, 21). To date none has been found in a pre-conquest context in Britain, where they are dated from A.D. 43 to *c.* A.D. 60/5 and directly associated with the army of conquest (Mackreth 2011, 134, 236–7). The Structure 9 example is too badly damaged to assign

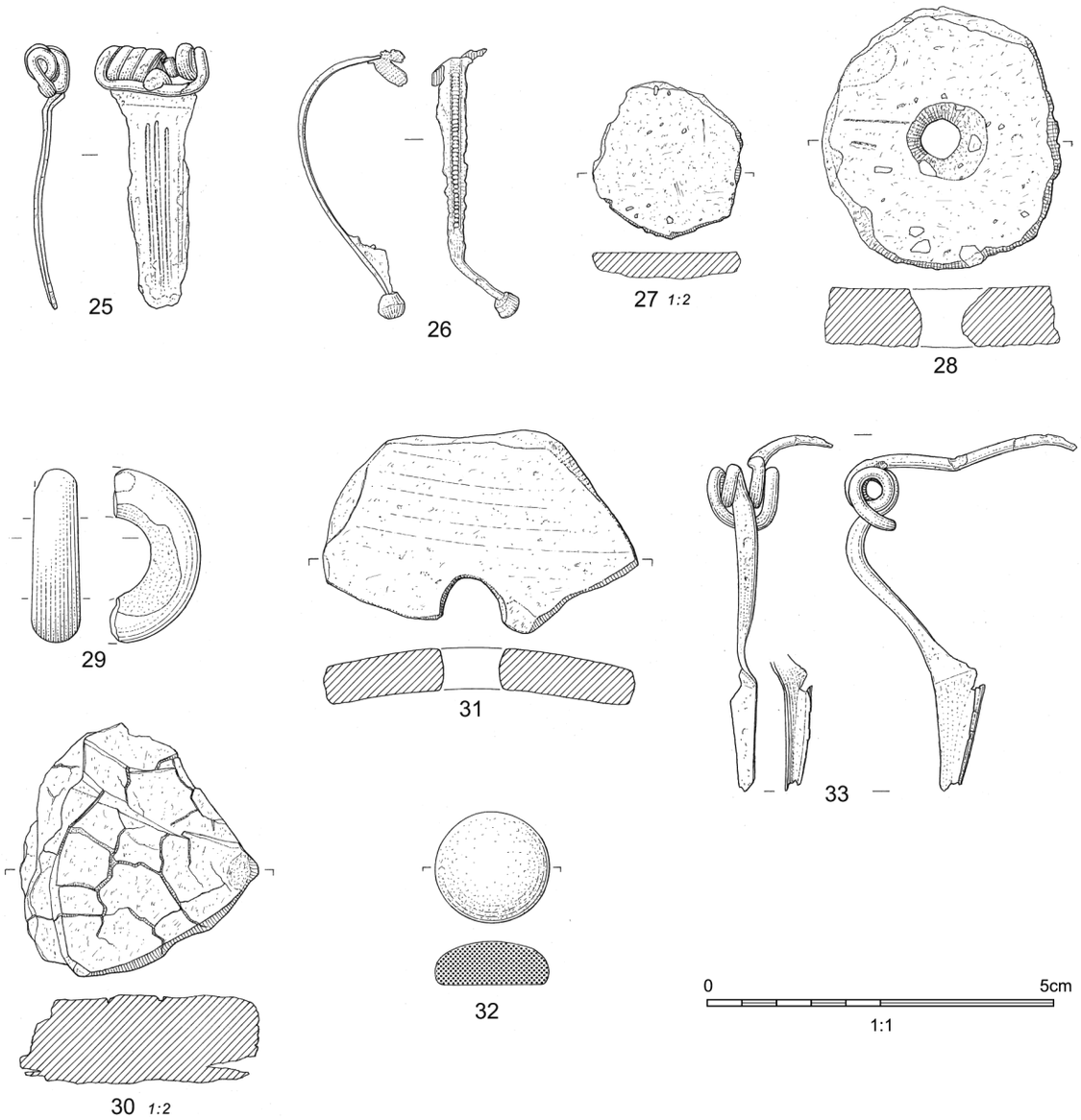

FIG. 70. Small finds from Structure 9 (Nos 25–28), Enclosure 1 (No. 29), Enclosure 2 (Nos 30–31) and Structure 10 (Nos 32–33).

to a particular sub-type (FIG. 70.26, SF 7538). The iron hobnail found in the same context is also post-conquest and probably military. The pottery counter and spindlewhorl, both made from recycled sherds of Silchester ware, cannot be closely dated (FIG. 70.27–28, SF 6139, SF 6976). The edge on each is still rough, but that on the whorl is neatly trimmed and its spindle-hole is worn.

All the Structure 9 objects were probably deposited at the very end of Period 0 or early in Period 1. The spindlewhorl and counter argue for an indigenous domestic setting, and the former for the female occupation of spinning, while the Aucissa brooch and hobnails are Roman, military and male.

THE ENCLOSURES

Few finds came from the enclosures, in keeping with a working environment, and a probable harness ring matches their role in stock control (Table 39). All are in gully or post-hole fill and some, if not all, may post-date the enclosure system.

A fragment of a translucent, almost clear, annular bead with a yellow trail around the centre is of Iron Age style and came from Gully 13933 in Enclosure 1 (FIG. 70.29, SF 6850). An iron ring from Post-hole 16541 in Enclosure 2 is large enough to be from harness but might also come from a stout chain. Two short fragments of iron wire, one crossing the other, came from Gully 15791 in Enclosure 3, and a small fragment of iron sheet from Gully 15453 in Enclosure 4. A fragment of shale and a recycled pottery spindlewhorl came from Enclosure 8 (FIG. 70.30–31, SF 6582, SF 6500). The piece of shale retains part of a curved worked edge and a polished surface; it may come from a vessel (cf. Lawson 1976, 270, nos 97, 98, 102). The whorl was found with Claudio-Neronian pottery; it was much used, with the sides of the spindle-hole now worn straight rather than still figure-of-eight-shaped from being drilled from both faces.

STRUCTURE 10

Apart from an iron shank fragment from Gully 15482, all the objects from Structure 10 came from the fills of post-holes (Table 38). A black (very dark blue) glass counter came from Post-hole 16304 (FIG. 70.32, SF 7587) and is probably an import. A copper-alloy stud that had been folded in half came from Post-hole 11060, and a complete copper-alloy Nauheim Derivative from Post-hole 12781 (FIG. 70.33, SF 6379). The other items are all small pieces of ironwork, including three hobnails. Several of the post-holes contained Claudio-Neronian pottery, and the brooch and hobnails also date to the conquest period at the earliest. The glass counter may be slightly earlier, as sets of similar counters were used for playing board games in southern Britain in the latest Iron Age (Crummy *et al.* 2007, 150, 186–90, 217–20, 352–75, tables 79–80).

WELLS

The paucity of small fragments of metal, bone or glass artefacts from the soils forming the backfill of the wells, even in the upper fills when they had probably been used as pits rather than wells, suggests that the area around each was kept comparatively clear and uncluttered. The objects are catalogued in Table 40.

WELL 8328

Only two objects came from this feature, a nail shank in the primary fill of the well and a small featureless scrap of leather in the base of the upper slumped section. As Iron Age cured leather needs acidic conditions to survive, which was not the case here, this scrap must derive from a post-conquest tanned leather object, or be a pre-conquest import.

WELL 10421

A bone gouge and an iron strip, along with some iron nails, came from one of the dump layers about halfway up the well. One end of the long narrow strip is slightly thinner than the other and has traces of organic material in the corrosion (FIG. 71.34, SF 5642). The gouge (FIG. 71.35, SF 5665) is similar to those defined at Danebury, Hants., as Class 3, with the distinction between gouges and large roughly-shaped awls depending chiefly on the length of the open point and wear (Sellwood 1984a, 385, 387). Made from a sheep/goat tibia, SF 5665 is highly polished from use and has a small perforation through the upper end close to the proximal articulation. Bone gouges of various sizes and forms are found on middle and late Iron Age sites in southern Britain in considerable numbers, such as the 123 from All Cannings Cross, Wilts., 78 from Maiden Castle, Dorset, 65 from Glastonbury and 66 from Danebury (Cunnington 1923, 84–7; Wheeler 1943, 303–4; Laws 1991a, 236, 238, fig. 188, 15–23; Bulleid and Gray 1917, 419–21; Sellwood 1984a, 382–7; Cunliffe and Poole 1991, 359). Interpretations of their use vary considerably, with suggestions for the comparatively small Class 3 tools centred on weaving (Cunnington 1923, 86; Wheeler 1943, 303–4; Sellwood 1984a, 387). They cannot be closely dated, being spread throughout the span of occupation at Danebury (Cunliffe and Poole 1991, 359).

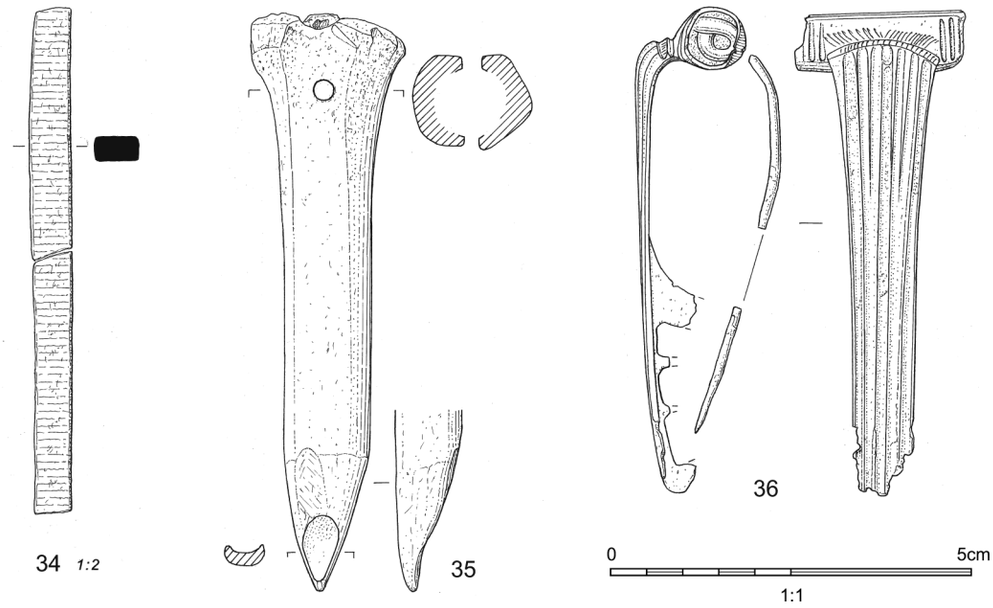

FIG. 71. Small finds from the wells (Nos 34–36).

WELL 13965

A Langton Down brooch came from near the base of the well, in gravel layer 14027 that may represent a partial collapse of the upper edge, while an iron hobnail and some possible lead-working waste were in the top fill 13950, which was probably formed by later settlement into the feature. The brooch is complete apart from a little damage to the catchplate and foot, and the pin is detached (FIG. 71.36, SF 7075). On the Continent brooches of this form appear during the reign of Augustus and were in use up until that of Nero, but the majority come from contexts dated Tiberius–Nero (Feugère 1985, 266, type 14b). Along with other spring-cover brooches they were imported from Roman Gaul into the east of England in considerable numbers during the reign of Cunobelin, *c.* A.D. 9–*c.* 41, with trade ceasing either at his death or at the conquest and those brooches still in use in A.D. 43 discarded by *c.* A.D. 50 (Crummy 2007, 315–16). This example belongs to Mackreth's form 2, with a round top, which appears in several late Iron Age to early Romano-British burials at King Harry Lane, Verulamium (Mackreth 2011, 33–4; Stead and Rigby 1989, 91–2).

From Silchester Mackreth lists only eleven Langton Downs of all forms (bar the Nauheim-like proto-Langton Down), most of them from the forum basilica site (2011, CD, serial list). There are, however, at least 27 from Insula IX (see Ch. 5), of which SF 7075 is the only one stratified in Period 0, with the earliest example from the forum basilica coming from a Claudio-Neronian context (Corney 2000, 330, no. 52). This may reflect a Catuvellaunian stranglehold on the import of spring-cover brooches via eastern ports until *c.* A.D. 41/3. SF 7075 may have arrived at Silchester via Camulodunum, quite possibly with Catuvellaunians, but perhaps in A.D. 43, with Camulodunum by then in Roman hands, trade in these brooches may have switched to the southern ports of the client kingdom of the Atrebates, continuing until the forms ceased to be manufactured. Alternatively, many of Insula IX's spring-cover brooches could have arrived after the conquest on the clothing or in the trading-packs of Gallo-Roman incomers.

PIT GROUPS (Appendix 1, Table 41)

PIT GROUP 1

Pit 10746

This pit contained a copper-alloy Colchester brooch (FIG. 72.37, SF 6035), along with an iron

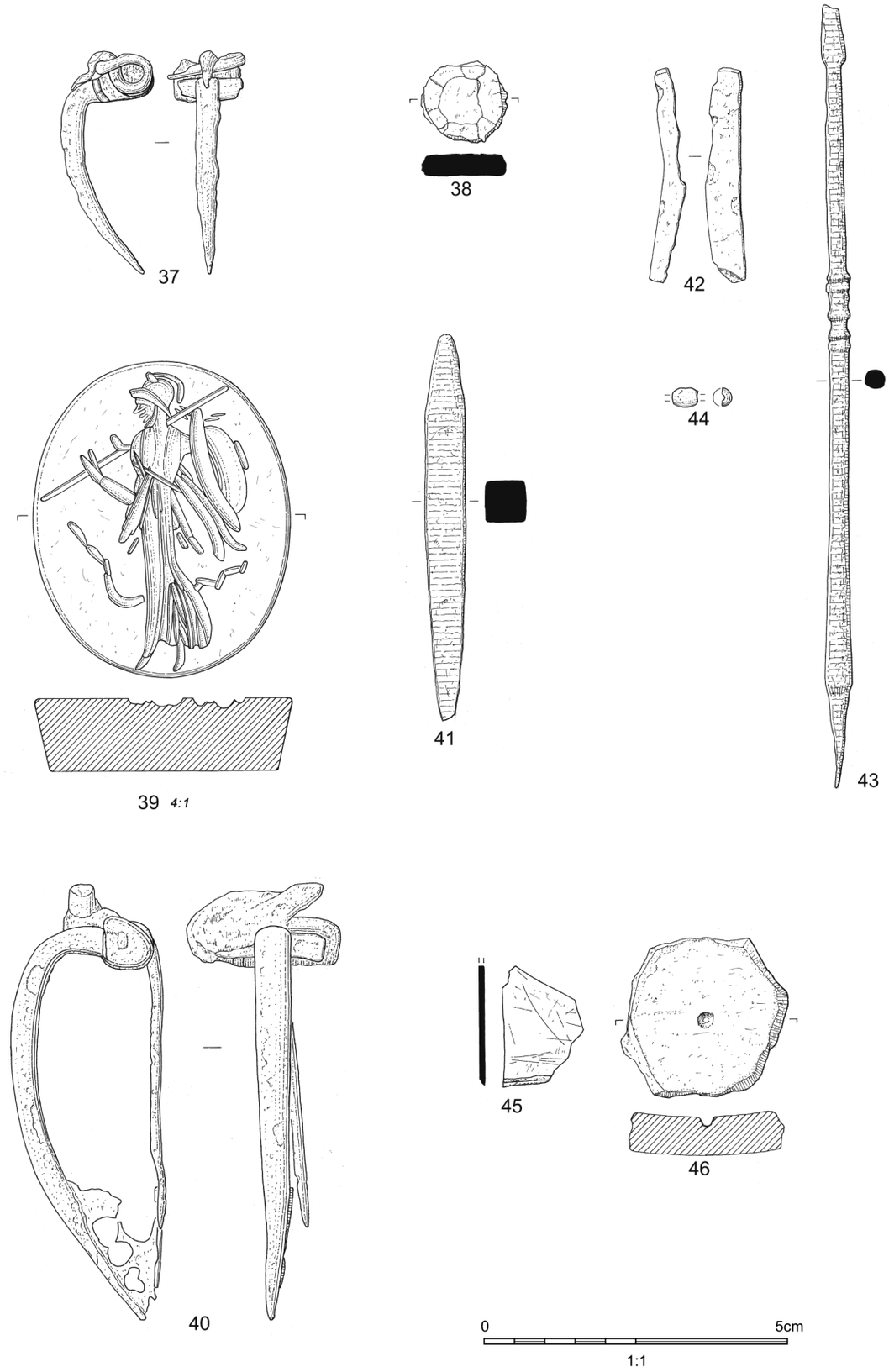

FIG. 72. Small finds from Pit Group 1 (Nos 37–41), Pit Group 2 (Nos 42–44) and Pit Group 3 (Nos 45–46).

strip, a lead disc and a cornelian intaglio. The intaglio and strip came from the top fill, which probably dates to Period 1. The lead disc, only 14 mm in diameter, may be a weight (FIG. 72.38, SF 6290). It is fairly close in weight to the Roman *semisextula*, one-twelfth of an *uncia*, and may perhaps be an Iron Age British equivalent, but its surface is badly cracked and its present weight of 1.93 g may not accurately reflect its weight when new. Another small lead disc came from Pit 8580.

The intaglio By Martin Henig

The cornelian intaglio is in the form of a slightly elongated oval with a bevelled underside, 13 mm by 10 mm by 3 mm (FIG. 72.39 and FIG. 73, SF 6019). The subject is the goddess Minerva flying towards the left. She wears a belted peplos with over-fold and a helmet, holds a circular shield and shoulders a spear. A snake is depicted flying beside her, doubtless representing the Athenian autochthonous god or hero Erichthonius who is represented in serpentine form. Although superficially resembling the Athena Promachos, the image is actually based on a late Archaic sculpture (end of the sixth century B.C.) represented by a marble sculpture of Athena in Basle (Thomas 1982). It is not surprising that it was quite popular as a subject for glyptics in both the Republican and Imperial periods (ibid., 59–62), for after all Minerva was a powerful protective goddess and the device would have been endowed with particular apotropaic significance, spear, serpent and (assumed) Medusa on her breast protecting the wearer from the baleful influence of the Evil Eye. There are several parallels to the type from Pompeii, Boscotrecase and Herculaneum (Pannuti 1983, 14–17, nos 14–19), likewise of cornelian and of even more pronounced elongated form (no. 17), which, like other parallels from Aquileia (Sena Chiesa 1966, 131, nos 142–3) in banded agate and agate and a cornelian from Gadara in Jordan (Henig and Whiting 1987, 18, no. 149), may be placed around the end of the first century B.C. and the beginning of the first century A.D. Other good parallels with regard to subject and style are an amethyst in the Cabinet des Médailles, Paris (Richter 1971, 34, no. 100) and a garnet in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (Henig and MacGregor 2004, 44, no. 2.27), which can be no later. Although there are later gems showing the flying Minerva, more schematic and disorganised in cutting (for instance, Sena Chiesa 1966, 131–2, nos 144–6; Henig and Whiting 1987, 18, no. 150, all cornelian intaglios), the Silchester Minerva was almost certainly cut no later than the first half of the first century A.D.

FIG. 73. Intaglio (SF 6019). (*Photograph by Ian R. Cartwright, Institute of Archaeology, Oxford*)

Pit 12462

Most of the objects from 12462 came from the primary fill. A copper-alloy Colchester brooch dating to *c.* A.D. 10–40/50 has a fretted catchplate indicative of a date early in the series (FIG.

72.40, SF 6498). It is complete and its pin is closed, suggesting that it was deliberately discarded rather than casually lost. A short double-pointed iron awl is also complete; one end served as a tang for a wooden or bone handle, now lost (FIG. 72.41, SF 6542). Examples from All Cannings Cross and Danebury still retained traces of a wooden handle on the tang (Cunnington 1923, 122, pl. 19, 7; Sellwood 1984b, 354, fig. 7.13, 2.58). First made in this double-pointed form in copper alloy in the Bronze Age, iron examples appeared in the early Iron Age and probably continued to be used into the latest Iron Age. Several other iron objects, including part of an iron needle shank, are all small fragments and some, such as strap SF 6553 and strip SF 6554, may be part of the same object (the term 'strap' is used here for a strip with attachment fittings or holes for fittings). There are hobnails from the primary fill, and an iron fitting appears to be an intrusive modern item.

Pit 11665

Finds include a copper-alloy brooch, an iron bar, some iron sheet and a hobnail. The brooch, part of a one-piece Nauheim Derivative, came from the upper fill of the ditch and is post-conquest in date. The hobnail and sheet fragments are from a recut of the ditch. The bar is heavy and may be part of the shank of a smith's punch. Metal-working debris came from the nearby Pit Group 2 (see below, Allen p. 242).

Other finds

Pit 15670 contained some small iron fragments, including two iron hobnails, and Pit 17848 contained an iron bar and a hobnail.

PIT GROUP 2

Pit 10770

A copper-alloy furniture nail and part of a brooch came from the upper fill of the pit. The brooch fragment is the reeded foot from a spring-cover brooch dating to *c.* A.D. 10–40/50. The nail is of the pyramidal-headed form found in post-conquest contexts and associated with Roman-period wooden furniture. There are, for example, a further 20 from Romano-British levels at Silchester.

Pit 11670

A small copper-alloy bar from 11670 may be an offcut or similar waste debris from metal-working (FIG. 72.42, SF 5988). Also in the pit were a small amorphous copper-alloy fragment and a short length of iron wire.

Pit 11701

An iron stylus and a fragment of iron sheet came from the primary fill of 11701, two strip fragments, a hobnail and an amorphous fragment from the top fill. One of the strip fragments may be the head and part of the spring of a brooch. The stylus is complete; the point has slight shoulders, the eraser is narrow and worn at the end and a grip of bead and spool mouldings is set just above the midpoint of the shaft (FIG. 72.43, SF 6572). It is quite close to Obrecht's Formgruppe A12, which dates from the early years of the first century A.D. onwards (2012, 116–17).

Pit 11658

A fragment of an opaque green glass bead came from the single fill of this pit. Small and barrel-shaped, it is a long-lived form but examples in early contexts would have been imported from the

Continent (FIG. 72.44, SF 6261). A necklace of imported green glass beads, some barrel-shaped, was among the grave goods in a Catuvellaunian chamber-burial at Stanway, Essex, dated to *c.* A.D. 40–45/50 (Crummy *et al.* 2007, 135, 440–1).

Pit 10750

An iron hobnail came from 10750; much later Romano-British material had settled into the feature.

PIT GROUP 3

Pit 12696

A copper-alloy ?brooch, an iron brooch, a recycled pottery spindlewhorl and an iron hobnail were all in the primary fill of this pit; the upper fill is dated to Period 1. The copper-alloy ?brooch consists of a small fragment that may possibly be a flattened part of a spring with the start of the pin. All that remains of the one-piece iron brooch is a pin with part of the spring. The whorl was in two pieces that lay apart within the fill.

Pit 14658

A copper-alloy mirror and an iron hobnail came from the fill below the capping layer, and a recycled pottery spindlewhorl and some iron nails were in the capping layer. Only four small fragments remain of the mirror, of which one only is illustrated (FIG. 72.45, SF 7348). An import from the Continent, it belongs to Lloyd-Morgan's rectangular or square Group A and dates to no earlier than the second quarter of the first century A.D. (Lloyd-Morgan 1981, 3). It was made from high-tin bronze (speculum) and, with its highly-polished reflective surface and rough underside, would have been cast in a mould of fine sand and then mounted in a wooden frame (Lloyd-Morgan 1977, 186–7). At least one imported rectangular mirror fragment from Hayling Island is from a pre-conquest context, as are several disc mirrors of Lloyd-Morgan's round Group F from burials at King Harry Lane (Downey *et al.* 1979, 6, 17; Stead and Rigby 1989, 103). The spindlewhorl is unfinished (FIG. 72.46, SF 7380). Made from a Silchester ware sherd, it has a roughly-shaped edge and the mark of a drill bit on one face, but it was probably rejected as too small before drilling continued.

Pit 16839

An iron shank fragment from the primary fill of the pit is quite stout and may be from a tool of some kind. An iron hobnail was in the capping layer.

Other finds

Also from Pit Group 3 features were: Pit 11131, two iron hobnails; Pit 11619, iron hobnail; Pit 16852, iron hobnail; Pit 15414, iron bar fragment.

PIT GROUP 4

Pit 11673

All the small finds in 11673 came from the upper fill, and all suit a late Iron Age rather than an early Romano-British date. The group includes two Colchester brooches, one iron and one copper-alloy (FIG. 74.47, SF 6099; SF 6183, not illus.), dated *c.* A.D. 10–40/50. The copper-alloy example has a fretted catchplate and probably belongs early in the date range. Two fired-clay spindlewhorls are in oxidised sandy fabrics; one has very little wear around the spindle-hole (FIG.

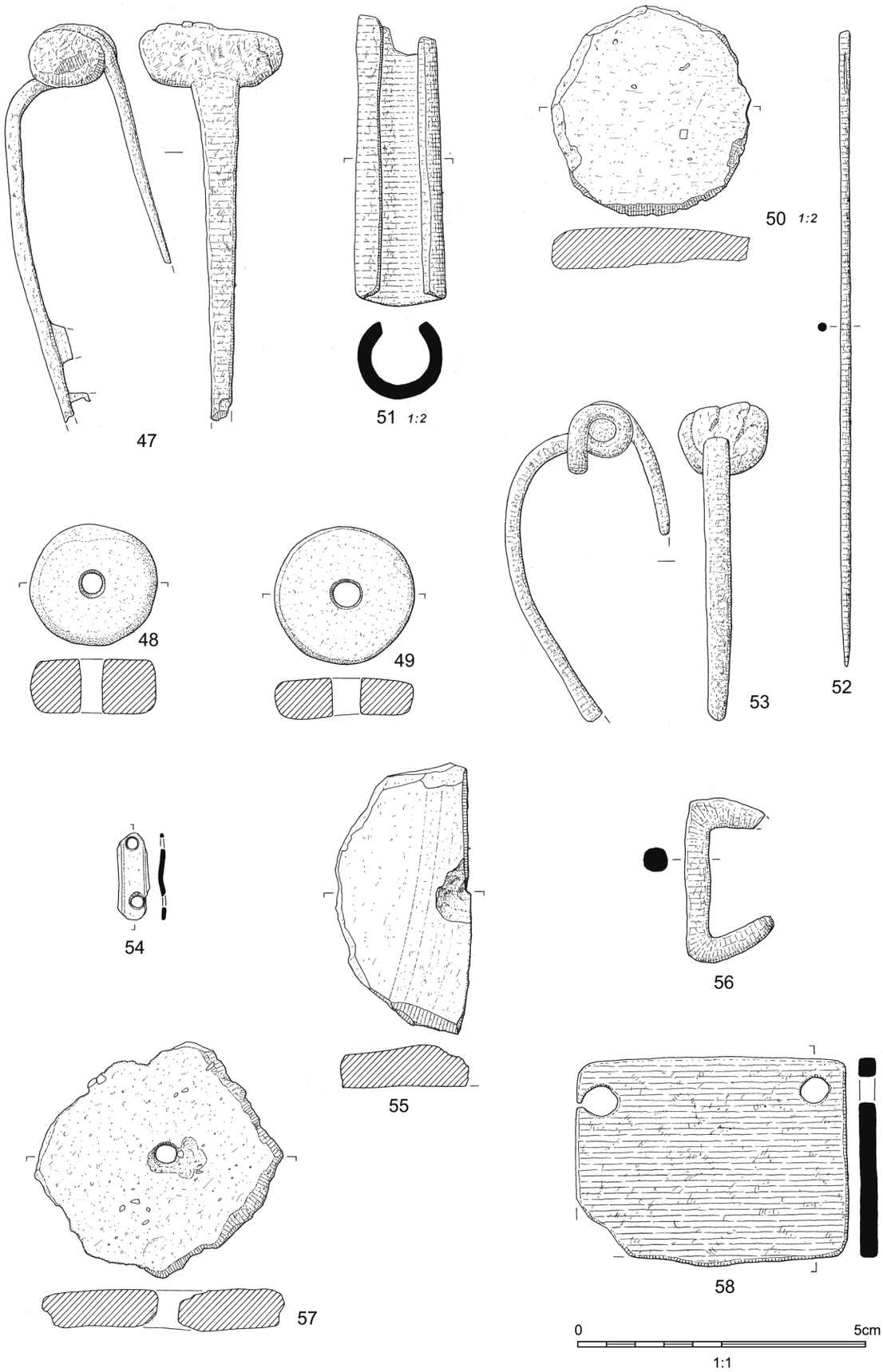

FIG. 74. Small finds from Pit Group 4 (Nos 47–53), Pit Group 6 (Nos 54–56), Pit Group 7 (No. 57) and Pit Group 9 (No. 58).

74.48, SF 6091), the other is spalled on one face, the remainder of which shows some reduction, and its hole is worn (FIG. 74.49, SF 6159). A third spindlewhorl is made from a recycled Silchester ware sherd and has a slightly irregular edge. Also made from recycled Silchester ware is a large counter with an edge that is neatly shaped but still rough (FIG. 74.50, SF 6104). The ironwork includes an oval chain link, a large iron ring that may be from a harness or a chain, and a large open socket retaining fragments of mineralised wood that probably comes from a cleaver or an agricultural implement (FIG. 74.51, SF 6164).

Pit 11700

From the upper fill of 11700 came an iron needle and a hobnail; both items may date to Period 1. The needle is missing its point and the area around the eye is poorly preserved (FIG. 74.52, SF 6238).

Pit 11720

The only object from this pit is the pin from a copper-alloy penannular brooch dating broadly to the first century A.D.

Pit 11721

An iron brooch pin came from the primary fill of the pit, an iron brooch missing its pin from the upper fill; the two are not related. The brooch is a *Drahtfibel* Derivative and dates from the first half of the first century A.D. into the Claudio-Neronian period (FIG. 74.53, SF 6219; Mackreth 2011, 22–3).

PIT GROUP 5

Pit 13685

A possible piece of lead-working waste and a small poorly-preserved fragment of copper-alloy sheet came from this pit. The latter has white-metal plating on one face and has broken across a possible rivet-hole. Faint traces of a design on each face suggest that it may be all that remains of a coin or a piece of decorative Iron Age metalwork.

Pit 13684

The only small find from 13684 is an iron nail shank fragment.

PIT GROUP 6

Pit 14081

An iron hobnail came from the bottom fill of this pit, a copper-alloy mount, an iron brooch and strip, and a recycled pottery spindlewhorl from the uppermost fill. The mount, with its two large holes for rivets or studs, was probably used on a leather strap and may be a post-conquest military item (FIG. 74.54, SF 7351). The brooch is an indigenous strip-bow form, Mackreth's mid-first-century A.D. Durotrigan form 8b (2011, 150–1); it is in too poor a state to be illustrated. The few dated examples are all post-conquest or from the transitional early 40s at the earliest. There is an iron one from a pre-Flavian pit at Silchester and a copper-alloy one from Poundbury in a context dated A.D. 40–70 (ibid., 150; Corney 1984a, 115, fig. 37.7; Green 1987, 97, fig. 66.12). The spindlewhorl, a recycled whiteware sherd with a roughly trimmed edge, broke and was discarded when the hole was being drilled (FIG. 74.55, SF 7336).

Pit 14099

An iron strip, hobnail and ?hobnail shank came from the fill of 14099.

Pit 16575

An iron staple or small joiner's dog is the only object from 16575 (FIG. 74.56, SF 7768).

PIT GROUP 7

Only two items came from this pit group: from the primary fill of Pit 11732 an almost rectangular spindlewhorl made from a sherd of Silchester ware with rough edges but a worn perforation (FIG. 74.57, SF 6108); and from Pit 12447 a fragment of iron wire, probably the tip of a needle or brooch pin.

PIT GROUP 8

Only small pieces of scrap metal came from pits and other features in this group: Pit 11970, two iron fragments and a hobnail in the primary fill; Pit 15627, iron hobnail; Pit 15681, copper-alloy sheet; Pit 10178, iron strip, sheet and hobnail, all in the primary fill; Post-hole 11794, iron hobnail in the single (deliberate) backfill; Post-hole 15601, two iron hobnails from *in-situ* packing around a post-pipe.

PIT GROUP 9

Pit 11763

A copper-alloy shank and an iron plaque were in the upper fill of the pit. The small rectangular plaque has a rivet- or nail-hole in each upper corner (FIG. 74.58, SF 6269). Although not ranked here among the Roman military finds because its size and shape and the position of the attachment holes do not match any of the common forms of scales used on *lorica squamata* (Bishop and Coulston 2006, fig. 54), it might nevertheless be an *ad hoc* repair for this type of armour.

Pit 16546

An iron brooch and shaft came from the top fill of 16546. Only the pin and part of the coil remain of the brooch. The shaft is thin and may be another brooch pin or part of a needle.

Other finds

Also from Pit Group 9 features were: Pit 11764, iron shank fragment; Pit 15112, two iron hobnails, one from the central fill, the other from the Period 1 top fill; Pit 17317, iron strip; Pit 15109, iron hobnail, from the top fill.

PIT GROUP 10

Pit 15128

The copper-alloy back-plate from a hinged *lorica segmentata* strap-fitting was found in the top fill of the pit (FIG. 75.59, SF 7031). Although some Roman military equipment entered Britain before the conquest, perhaps through gift-exchange or through Britons serving as auxiliaries (Foster 1986, 83–5, 178; 1999, 176; Creighton 2000, 187), the context and type of this small scrap of legionary equipment suggest that it is post-conquest.

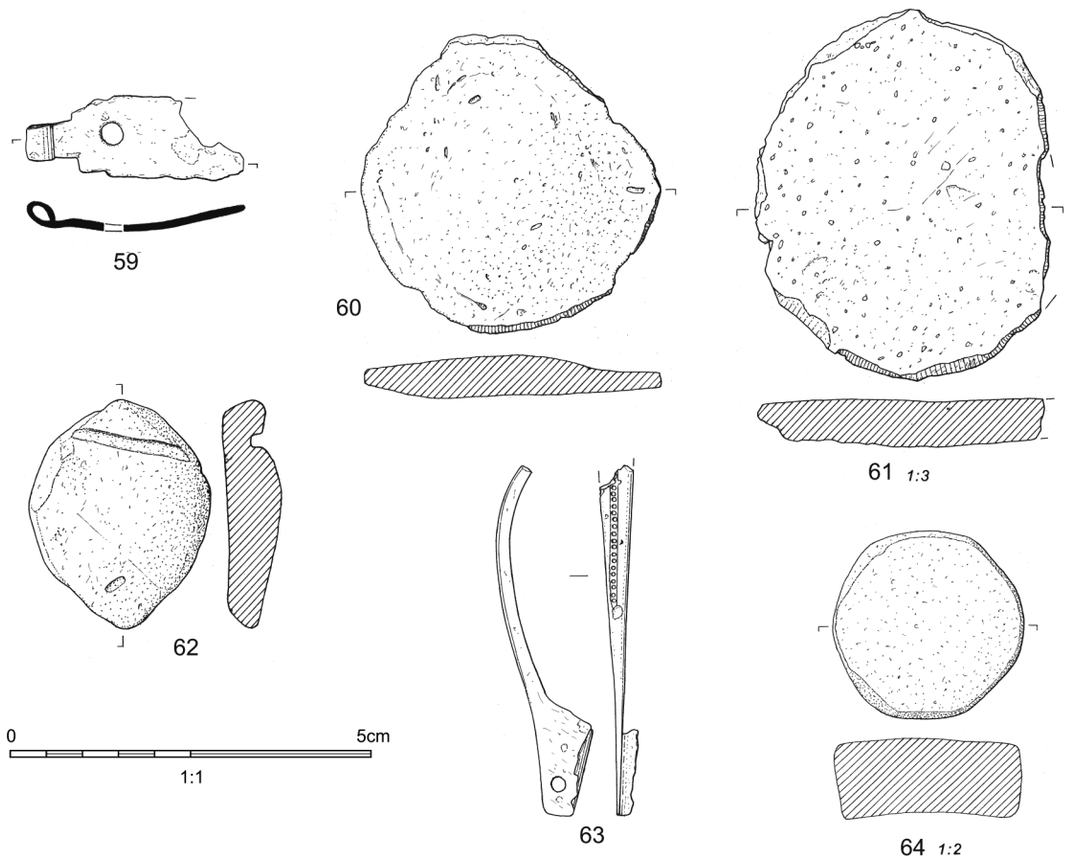

FIG. 75. Small finds from Pit Group 10 (Nos 59–62) and Pit Group 11 (Nos 63–64).

Pit 15142

An iron offcut from a smith's blank came from the basal fill, an iron hobnail, a recycled pottery counter, a recycled pottery mat or lid and an elliptical object of fired clay came from fills higher up in the feature. The counter (FIG. 75.60, SF 7594) and mat or lid (FIG. 75.61, SF 7111) are both made from sherds of Silchester ware, their edges trimmed but still rough. The mat or lid is ovoid and, at 153 by 129 mm, too large to be a counter. The fired-clay object is more or less eye-shaped, but has a transverse groove across one pointed end (FIG. 75.62, SF 7897). It may be a rudimentary counter but is more likely to be a tool of some kind. The groove securely holds a thong or piece of twine and may have been used to attach or suspend the object, and the opposite end is noticeably sharper and may have been used to score a pattern in a softer material, such as unfired clay.

PIT GROUP 11

Pit 16688

A copper-alloy brooch from 16688 is a one-piece type missing the upper part of the bow, spring and pin; there is a deep groove with knurling in the base down the upper part of the bow, and a round hole in the catchplate (FIG. 75.63, SF 7798). It belongs within a group of locally-made one-piece brooches from Insula IX dating to the conquest period that can be distinguished from the general run of Nauheim Derivatives by having a hole in the catchplate, a rather greater length and a slightly flatter profile. A possible stopper from the pit is made from a recycled amphora sherd, with smooth and fairly regular edges (FIG. 75.64, SF 7780). Other items from the feature

are an iron hobnail and a spindlewhorl made from a recycled sherd of Silchester ware, its edges still rough but abraded.

PIT GROUP 12

The only item from this pit group is a small piece of iron wire from Pit 16975; it may be from a brooch pin or a needle.

PIT GROUP 13

No small finds were recovered from pits in this group.

PIT GROUP 14

Pit 8580

All but one of the following items come from slump into the upper backfill and post-date Period 0. The exception, from the pit cut (presumably the very base of the fill), is an iron round-section bar with a thin curved extension that may be an unfinished brooch (FIG. 76.65, SF 5478). The majority of the objects from the fill are metal strip, sheet and shank fragments. Also recovered were two brooch pins (one iron, one copper-alloy), three copper-alloy studs and a copper-alloy hook with a stud for attachment (FIG. 76.66, SF 5606). The studs and hook may all derive from leather gear. The iron brooch pin is from a hinged brooch of one of Mackreth's Durotrigan types (2011, 150–1, DURO forms 7–8). Two small amorphous copper-alloy fragments may be metal-working debris, and an iron fragment may be an offcut from a smith's blank (FIG. 76.67, SF 5540). A small lead disc may be a weight (FIG. 76.68, SF 5612). At 0.94 g it may relate to the weight of late Iron Age coins, and it is less than a *scrupulum* (1/24th of a Roman ounce), but decay and wear may account for the difference. A second small disc weighing just over twice this was found in Pit 10746. Two iron hobnails and part of an iron finger-ring with a round, flat bezel missing its glass setting are Roman-style dress accessories, and a fragment of a colourless, clear

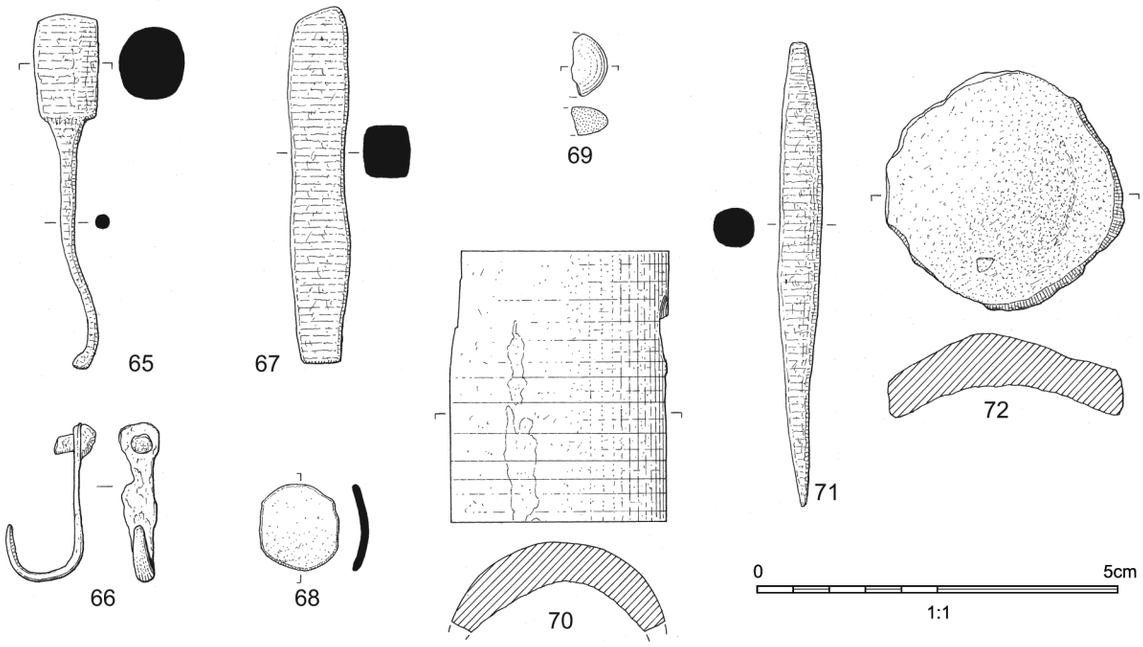

FIG. 76. Small finds from Pit Group 14 (Nos 65–72).

glass bead is an import (FIG. 76.69, SF 5696). Another import from the Continent is a fragment of a bone hinge-unit with tool marks from being turned on a lathe (FIG. 76.70, SF 5655). A small worked bone fragment has highly polished surfaces but no tool marks.

Pit 9606

A fragment of an iron brooch with wire bow and small expanded head from this pit dates from the late first century B.C. into the middle of the first century A.D. (Mackreth 2011, 10, form 2). Lacking its catchplate, it cannot be more closely dated. The form is comparatively rare (ibid.), but this is one of six such brooches from Insula IX. Also from 9606 is an iron, carrot-shaped, leather-worker's awl of Manning's Roman period Type 1 (1985, 39–40), missing most of its tang (FIG. 76.71, SF 5635). An iron hobnail came from the upper fill of the pit.

Pit 10410

A small iron punch, the head burred from use, would have been used for metal-working (SF 5461, not illus.). A long, narrow, curved iron bar may be part of a handle from a bucket or metal vessel. A piece of iron wire is modern and intrusive.

Pit 11026

From quite low down in the fill came a small copper-alloy nail and a counter or small dish made from the recycled base of a small Silchester ware vessel, with the edge rough but neatly shaped and showing some wear (FIG. 76.72, SF 6354). The upper fill of the pit contained a fragment of iron sheet and part of an iron brooch that may have an expanded head (as Mackreth 2011, 10, form 2). It can be broadly dated from the late first century B.C. to the middle of the first century A.D.

DISCUSSION

MATERIALS AND FUNCTION

Iron objects are the most frequently found items in the Period 0 context groups, accounting for 71 per cent of the assemblage, excluding the bulk nails (FIG. 77). Copper-alloy objects are next at

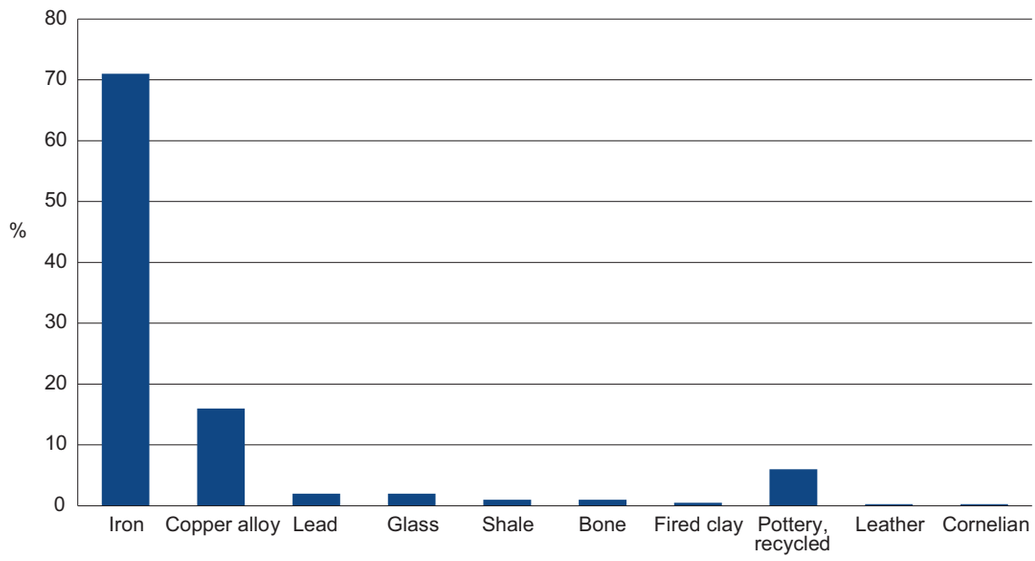

FIG. 77. The small find assemblage by material.

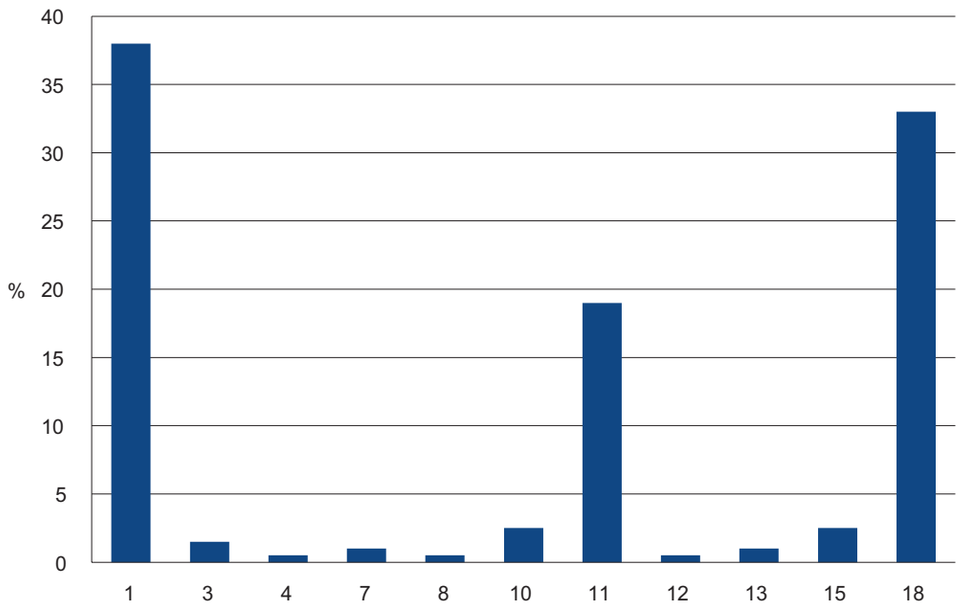

FIG. 78. The ironwork by function. Categories: (1) personal adornment; (2) toilet, surgical or pharmaceutical instruments; (3) manufacture or working of textiles; (4) household utensils and furniture; (5) recreation; (6) weighing and measuring; (7) written communication; (8) transport; (9) buildings and services; (10) tools; (11) fasteners and fittings; (12) agriculture, horticulture and animal husbandry; (13) military equipment; (14) religion; (15) metal-working; (16) antler, horn and bone-working; (17) pottery production and pipeclay; (18) unknown function or identification.

16 per cent, followed by recycled pottery sherds at 6 per cent. The remaining materials — lead, glass, shale, bone, leather, cornelian and fired clay — are all 2 per cent or less, and together total only 7 per cent. These figures do not include the stone objects, coin-moulds, briquetage or fired clay loomweights, which are dealt with elsewhere in this report.

The predominance of iron in small finds assemblages of the late Iron Age and Roman periods is not uncommon, even when the bulk nails are excluded. Breaking the ironwork down into the functional categories defined in Crummy 1983 (FIG. 78) shows that it consists chiefly of dress accessories (Category 1), fittings (Category 11) and multi-purpose items or miscellaneous scrap (Category 18). This reflects a characteristic of most assemblages even when not split by material and was evident on Insula IX even before most of the features under consideration here had been excavated (Crummy 2012, 106–8). The high number of iron dress accessories is nevertheless unusual (see below). Eight other functional groups are represented in the ironwork, with tools ranking the highest, followed by metal-working debris and textile-related equipment.

Breaking the copper-alloy items down by functional categories also reveals a predominance of dress accessories, all brooches, but representing only 44 per cent of the copper-alloy items, with fittings and miscellaneous items again the next highest. Only three other functional groups are represented: toilet instruments, military equipment and metal-working debris (FIG. 79).

Apart from these two metals, too few items are present in the other material groups to warrant dividing them in the same way, but a close relationship between function and material is evident for cornelian (one intaglio), glass (five beads, one counter) and fired clay (two spindlewhorls, but also one ?tool), while recycled pottery sherds were used for spindlewhorls, counters and household mats or lids.

The assemblage as a whole again shows the dominance of dress accessories, fittings and miscellaneous items, but the recycled pottery objects lift textile-related equipment above metal-working debris, recreation and tools (FIG. 80). The contents of the functional groups are discussed in more detail below.

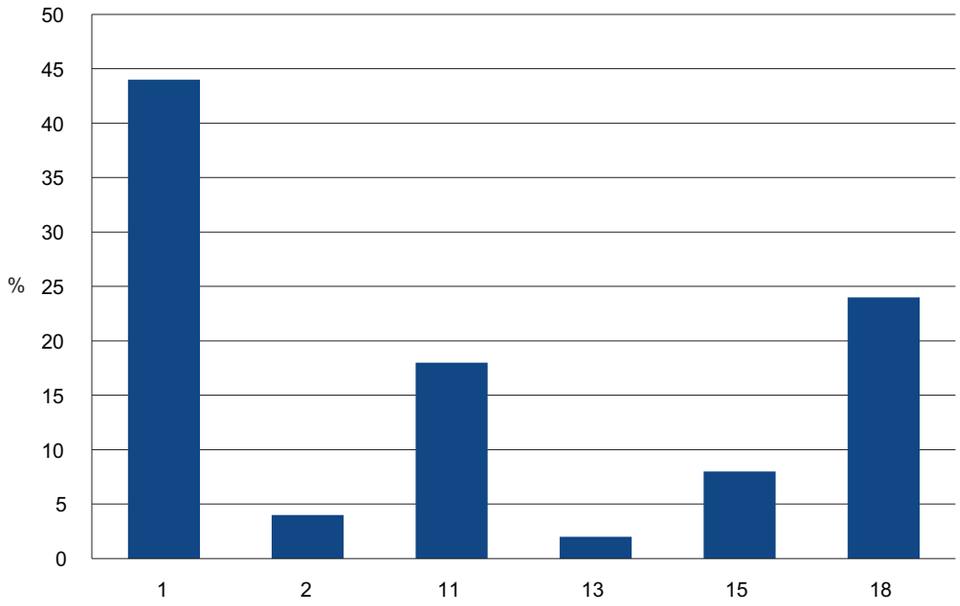

FIG. 79. Copper-alloy objects by function. See FIG. 78 for category list.

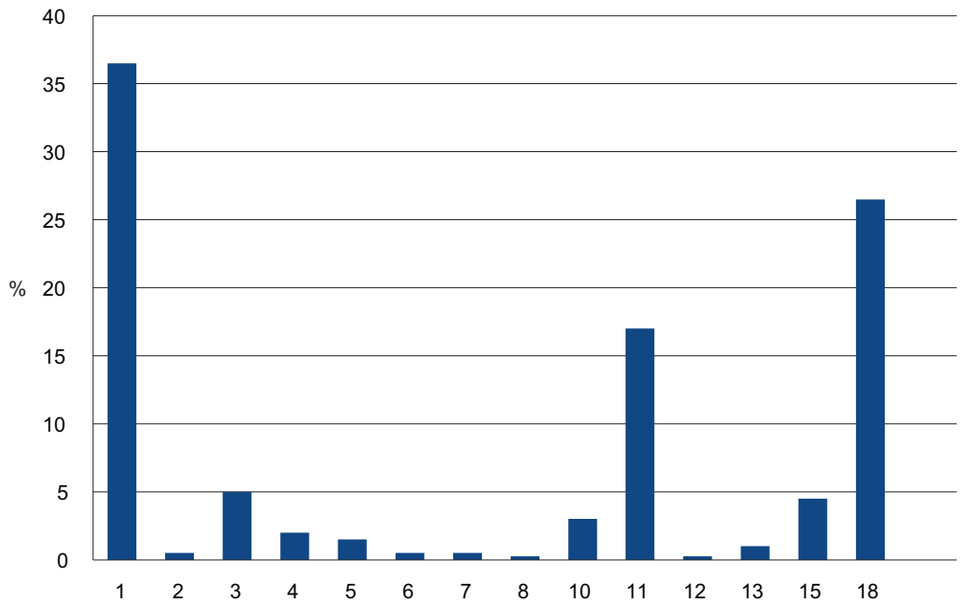

FIG. 80. The assemblage by function. See FIG. 78 for category list.

Dress accessories

Although several dress accessory types are present, the group is dominated by brooches and hobnails (Table 6). Two armlets of Kimmeridge shale are products of a major industry in the region, and a fragment of a possible brooch chain from Ditch 11631 represents the La Tène (and later Romano-British) method of attaching a pair of brooches together. Five beads present are a mix of indigenous and imported forms, with one from Enclosure 1 probably the earliest of the group. An iron finger-ring missing a glass inset, perhaps an intaglio, may have belonged to a Roman citizen (Pliny, *HN* 9.33.6; Flor., *Epitome*, 1.22.24). Other items placed in Categories

TABLE 6. DRESS ACCESSORIES BY TYPE, CONTEXT GROUP AND MATERIAL
(Also showing the specific brooch forms present and the number of hobnails recovered by sieving. Context groups not containing dress accessories are omitted)

Context Group	**Brooches**		**Beads, glass**	**Armlets, shale**	**Hobnails, iron**	**Finger-ring, iron**	**Total**
	iron	**copper-alloy**					
Ditch 11631, lower fills	1: brooch chain?	-	-	-	2	-	**3**
Ditch 11631, top fill	4: *Drahtfibel* Derivative; Durotrigan form 7b; 2 x pin only	2: boss-on-bow; spring-cover form	1	2	6 (5 sieved)	-	**15**
Enclosures	-	-	1	-	-	-	**1**
Structure 9	-	2: ribbon-bow; Aucissa	-	-	2 (1 sieved)	-	**4**
Structure 10	-	1: Nauheim Derivative	-	-	4 (4 sieved)	-	**5**
Post-hole structures	-	1: spring coil only	-	-	5 (4 sieved)	-	**6**
Post-hole alignments	1: *Drahtfibel* Derivative	-	1	-	5 (3 sieved)	-	**7**
Trackway 1	-	4: Nauheim; ribbon-bow; 2 x Nauheim Derivatives	-	-	5 (3 sieved)	-	**9**
Trackway 2	-	3: Colchester; Bagendon; Nauheim Derivative	-	-	3 (2 sieved)	-	**6**
Wells	-	1: Langton Down	-	-	1 (1 sieved)	-	**2**
Pit Group 1	1: Colchester	2: Colchester; Nauheim Derivative	-	-	10 (6 sieved)	-	**13**
Pit Group 2	1: uncertain fragment	1: spring-cover form	1	-	2 (sieved)	-	**5**
Pit Group 3	1: pin with part of spring	1: spring with part of pin?	-	-	6 (3 sieved)	-	**8**
Pit Group 4	3: Colchester; *Drahtfibel* Derivative; pin from sprung bow brooch	2: Colchester; pin from penannular	-	-	1 (1 sieved)	-	**6**
Pit Group 6	1: Durotrigan form 8b	-	-	-	2 (1 sieved)	-	**3**
Pit Group 8	-	-	-	-	5 (4 sieved)	-	**5**
Pit Group 9	1: pin with part of spring	-	-	-	3 (1sieved)	-	**4**
Pit Group 10	-	-	-	-	1 (1 sieved)	-	**1**
Pit Group 11	-	1: Silchester transitional form	-	-	1 (1 sieved)	-	**2**
Pit Group 14	3: expanded head; pin from Durotrigan form 7-8	1: pin only	1	-	3 (2 sieved)	1	**9**
Total	**17** *(15%)*	**22** *(18.5%)*	**5** *(4.5%)*	**2** *(2%)*	**67** *(59%)*	**1** *(1%)*	**114**

11 and 18 may be fragments of dress accessories, such as part of a small copper-alloy ring from Ditch 11631 and a mount from Pit Group 6, but their identifications are too tentative to be included here.

Table 6 lists the dress accessories by context group. The brooches are divided by material.

There are only slightly more copper-alloy than iron brooches, and there is no great distinction between which material came from which context group. In general, where a group contained more than two brooches, then both materials were present, the exceptions being Trackways 1 and 2, where four and three copper-alloy brooches were found respectively, but none of iron.

An intriguing possibility for the high number of iron brooches not only in Period 0 but also in the whole Insula IX assemblage is that they represent a southern British style of dress. Mackreth has pointed out that an iron strip-bow brooch of his Durotrigan form 7b was found at the hip of an inhumation at Rotherley, Wilts., and may have been used to fasten a 'kilt-like garment' (2011, 150). Twelve brooches of the same type have been found on Insula IX, although not all in Period 0 contexts, along with an example of his similar DURO form 8 and fragments that may also be from DURO form 7 or 8 brooches (Table 6, and see Ch. 5). In the absence of greater evidence from inhumation burials such an interpretation must remain as only a possibility, but that regional dress-styles may lie behind the variations in the percentages of iron brooches present in large assemblages on late Iron Age to Roman sites is perhaps supported by the comparatively low numbers from the Catuvellaunian settlements at King Harry Lane and Baldock (10 per cent and 3.4 per cent; Stead and Rigby 1989, table 5) and from the Trinovantian settlement at Elms Farm, Heybridge, Essex (4 per cent; Crummy 2015b), and the comparatively high numbers (21 per cent) from the Corieltauvian site of Dragonby in Lincolnshire (Olivier 1996).

The earliest brooches from Period 0 are a Boss-on-bow brooch from the upper fill of Ditch 11631 that probably dates to *c.* 60–25/20 B.C. and a Nauheim from Trackway 1 that may be of similar date or perhaps as late as *c.* A.D. 25 (Mackreth 2011, 14). Although both brooches were residual in features that also contained first-century A.D. material dating to as late as the Claudio-Neronian period, their presence here is a strong indication of occupation at Silchester in the second half of the first century B.C., supported by two more Nauheims from Insula IX and by other early brooches on the forum basilica site (Corney 2000, 323). In terms of other southern *oppida*, they can be compared to first-century B.C. brooches from the King Harry Lane cemetery at Verulamium (Stead and Rigby 1989, 96, R1–R2), and from Camulodunum, where two Boss-on-bows were not published by Hawkes and Hull with the other brooches from the 1930s excavations because they were earlier than the (then) preferred start date for the site of *c.* 5 B.C. (Crummy 2007, 315). Early brooches from, for example, Maiden Castle in Dorset, Westhampnett in West Sussex, Puckeridge-Braughing in Hertfordshire, Heybridge in Essex and Canterbury in Kent also point to occupation at those sites by or soon after the mid-first century B.C., and earlier still at Maiden Castle (Wheeler 1943, 257–8, fig. 83; Laws 1991b, 155; Haselgrove 1997, 61; Montague 1997, 91–7; Olivier 1988, 35–6; Crummy 2015b, table 76; Mackreth 2011, 14; Blockley *et al.* 1995, 955–7), and there are many others from southern and eastern Britain, including those in the Winchester gold jewellery hoard (Stead 1976; Crummy 2007, 315; Mackreth 2011, 9–10, 14; Hill *et al.* 2004).

Brooches of the first half of the first century A.D. form a substantial element of the Period 0 group, as they do of the whole Insula IX brooch assemblage (see Ch. 5). Two brooches with expanded head came from Pit Group 14 (one from the upper fill of Pit 11026); Colchester brooches from Trackway 2, Pit Group 1 and Pit Group 4; spring-cover brooches from the top fill of Ditch 11631, Well 13965 and Pit Group 2; and ribbon-bows from Structure 9 and Trackway 1. Most of these brooches are likely to have been out of use and in the ground by *c.* A.D. 50. Iron *Drahtfibel* Derivatives and Durotrigan strip-bow forms 7–8 came from the top fill of Ditch 11631, Trackway 1 and Pit Groups 4, 6 and 14, and these forms appear to have continued in use for rather longer after the conquest (Mackreth 2011, 22–3, 150–1).

The remaining brooches are all post-conquest forms: an Aucissa from Structure 9, a Bagendon from the ditch of Trackway 2 and copper-alloy Nauheim Derivatives from Structure 10, both trackways and Pit Group 1, while from Pit Group 11 comes a particular form of conquest-period Nauheim Derivative apparently local to Silchester and perhaps made on Insula IX (Crummy 2012, 113). The possibility of a Roman military presence of some sort at Calleva before A.D. 43 may provide a context for the Aucissa to be the first pre-conquest example from Britain, but from their contexts none of the others need be early.

Four brooches are complete, or were probably complete, when deposited: copper-alloy

Colchester SF 6498 from the primary fill of Pit 12462; copper-alloy Langton Down SF 7075 from the lower fill of Well 13965; hinged iron brooch SF 6480 from the base of the top fill in Ditch 11631, and copper-alloy Nauheim Derivative SF 6379 from the fill of a Structure 10 post-hole. All or some of these brooches may be deliberate formal deposits, in particular the Colchester and Langton Down brooches, both of which were found in deep and wet/damp contexts matching the southern British Iron Age pattern of ritual deposits in wells and other liminal features set on the boundaries between above and below, earth and water (Green 1997, 155). The Colchester brooch was certainly closed (i.e. had the pin engaged in the catch) when deposited, making casual loss highly unlikely. Several small pieces of scrap iron came from the same context, highlighting both the different condition and different material of the brooch, while a complete Iron Age awl, the wooden handle of which has now rotted away, and a recycled pottery disc with a piercing that may be too narrow to take a spindle also stand out within the feature as differing in condition and material, and therefore as possible deliberate deposits.

Although the number of brooches is substantial, they account for only 33.5 per cent of the dress accessories, while hobnails form 59 per cent, even though multiple hobnails in an individually logged small finds number are counted as one item and the precise percentage would be rather higher (Table 6). While the intensive programme of sieving on Insula IX no doubt contributed to the number of hobnails recovered, they were also found during hand excavation and were widely scattered across the site. The stratigraphy of the various features and the presence of Claudio-Neronian pottery and post-conquest brooches and other finds in a number of the context groups suggest that many of the hobnails are, as would be expected, of post-conquest date. There is little doubt, however, of a pre-conquest date for the following:

SF 7737, from Post-hole 16713 in Post-hole Structure 2 (Table 36);
SF 6414, from Post-hole 11627 in Post-hole Structure 5 (Table 36);
in Pit Group 1, SFs 6493, 6512, 6530, 6541 and 6551 from the primary fill of Pit 12462, SF 6631 from higher up in Pit 12462, SF 7870 from the primary fill of Pit 15670, and SF 7835 from the single fill of Pit 17848 (Table 41);
in Pit Group 3, SF 7294 from Pit 11619 and SF 7769 from the single fill of Pit 16852 (Table 41);
in Pit Group 8, SF 5930 from the primary fill of Pit 10178, SF 7364 from the primary fill of Pit 11970, SF 7547 from the single fill of Pit 15627, and SF 7774 from *in-situ* packing around the post-pipe in Post-hole 15601 (Table 41).

If the presence of hobnails in Silchester before the conquest is accepted (and none came from pre-conquest, but sieved less intensively (p. 6), contexts on the forum basilica site; Richards 2000a), then comparison with sieved cremations suggests that other British Iron Age settlements did not engage in the same way with nailed footwear, as there are none from pre-conquest burials at Broughton Manor Farm near Milton Keynes, Skeleton Green, Stanway (Camulodunum) or Heybridge, and at King Harry Lane only two post-conquest burials contained hobnails (Atkins *et al.* 2014, 129–42; Partridge 1981, 114–18; Crummy *et al.* 2007; Major 2015; Stead and Rigby 1989, 111). Given the associations between conquest, Romanisation, the army, tanning technology and hobnails (van Driel-Murray 2001, 56; 2008, 487; and see Introduction, p. 116), these humble artefacts from Insula IX would seem to represent a link between Silchester and the Roman army in Gaul. The Atrebates may have supplied auxiliaries who brought their nailed *caligae* back with them on retirement, traded goods may have merited a military escort, Gaulish traders may have brought nailed shoes to Calleva, either as goods for sale or merely by wearing this type of footwear, or perhaps Calleva acted as a (military) trading centre beyond the frontier of the Empire. In 52 B.C., during the revolt led by Vercingetorix in the final years of the conquest of Gaul, Caesar records the Carnutes killing Roman citizens who had settled at Cenabum (Orléans) in order to trade, and the Aedui luring other traders out from Cabillonus (Chalon-sur-Saône), and then attacking and killing them; the same phrase, *qui negotiandi causa ibi constiterant* is used each time (*B Gall.* 7.3 and 42). Even more pertinent to Calleva is the comment by Cassius Dio that in unconquered German territory during the reign of Augustus Roman troops were overwintering, cities were being founded and the native inhabitants were holding markets

(*Roman History* 56.18). One of these cities would have been the military-controlled settlement at Waldgirmes, constructed *c.* 4 B.C. (Rasbach and Becker 2003; Zick 2006).

The other hobnails from the Period 1 fills of Period 0 features certainly point to so many being incorporated within the Period 1 topsoil that some were inevitably included within soil scraped up to use as backfill almost anywhere on the site. Coupled with the evidence for literacy in pre-conquest Calleva (see Literacy, below), hobnails in this quantity on Insula IX by the conquest period are a strong indication for both trade and an early military presence.

Toilet instruments

The only items connected to grooming are fragments of a mirror from Pit 14658 in Pit Group 3 and an incomplete toilet set from the northern ditch of Trackway 2. The former is evidence for trade with the Continent and the latter for regional manufacture. The mirror dates to no earlier than the second quarter of the first century A.D., and, along with those from Hayling Island and the King Harry Lane cemetery, may be one of the earliest imported mirrors in Britain (Lloyd-Morgan 1977; 1981, 3; Downey *et al.* 1979, 6, 17; Stead and Rigby 1989, 103). However, as it came from the upper fill of the pit, it may alternatively be of post-conquest date. The toilet set is a British product that includes a swollen-bladed nail-cleaner typical of the southern region, where no toilet sets are known to pre-date *c.* A.D. 40 (Eckardt and Crummy 2008, 80–1, 89). They were certainly adopted with enthusiasm by the Atrebates from the mid-first century, and examples from Insula IX show that they played a significant part in the expression of native British identity and ritual behaviour (Crummy 2011, 125, 127; 2016b).

Textile equipment

Equipment used for spinning and weaving is frequently encountered on Iron Age sites and attests both to settlements being self-sufficient in cloth production and to the keeping of flocks of sheep and/or goats, a considerable number of which were not slaughtered young for their meat but allowed to reach maturity so that their wool could be shorn. Eleven spindlewhorls form the major part of the equipment discussed here (for loomweights see Ch. 10), with two being purpose-made and nine formed from recycled pottery sherds, eight of Silchester ware and one of whiteware. They are spread across the excavated area, but with a marked concentration in the western part of the site, a distribution that must to a large extent reflect the greater number and density of Period 0 features in the west. There are ten from features associated with Structure 9, Post-hole Structure 1 and Enclosure 8, Pit Groups 1, 3, 4, 6 and 7, Ditch 11631 and Trackway 1, but only one from Pit Group 11 in the east. The two purpose-made whorls from Pit Group 1 are of undoubted Iron Age origin, while at least some of those made from recycled sherds may date to the conquest period. At Gussage All Saints, for example, purpose-made whorls were found in the early, middle and late Iron Age phases, but those made from recycled sherds were only found in the late Iron Age phase, which extended into the final decades of the first century A.D. (Wainwright 1979, 25, 100–4). The recycled whorls from Ditch 11631 and Pit Group 6 broke when they were being drilled and were never used, and that from Pit Group 3 has only the beginnings of a perforation drilled into one face and may have been rejected as too small. Of the others several have well-worn holes, but few are neatly shaped.

Also possibly associated with weaving is a Danebury Class 3 bone gouge from Well 10421, but this attribution is not certain (Sellwood 1984a, 387) and the object is listed as Category 10 (Tools).

Evidence for sewing is also represented in the assemblage, with iron needles coming from Ditch 11631 and Pit Groups 1 and 4, and several features contained pieces of thin tapering wire that may also be needle fragments.

Household equipment

Very little household equipment (other than pottery vessels) is present in the assemblage, with the only metal item being a fragment of a bucket or vessel handle from a ditch by Trackway 2.

Four recycled Silchester ware sherds were probably adapted for use as mats or lids, and a large trimmed base, measuring 153 by 129 mm, may have served as a plate. The distinction between trimmed sherds that may have served a domestic rather than a recreational use is here taken to lie somewhere between 40 and 60 mm; an adapted amphora sherd from Pit Group 11 could, at 52 mm in diameter, have been used as a counter, but at 20 mm thick is perhaps more likely to be a stopper, especially as the faces are unworn but the edge is smooth.

Recreation

A single black (dark blue) glass counter from the fill of a Structure 10 post-hole is the only positive evidence for board games on the site. Several other post-holes in this context group contained Claudio-Neronian pottery, and counters of this type are generally found in Romano-British contexts. Their use in a late Iron Age milieu is, however, attested by those found in burials of the A.D. 40s at Camulodunum, where they were found with the remains of wooden game boards and, together with evidence from earlier burials from eastern England, were clearly indications of wealth and status (Crummy *et al.* 2007, 150, 186–90, 217–20, 352–75, tables 79–80).

The identification of four discs made from recycled pottery sherds as game counters is far from certain. As with glass counters, they frequently occur in Romano-British contexts, but the uses to which they were put are still uncertain. Generally referred to as counters, their widely varying diameters and degrees of finish suggest a variety of uses, including unfinished spindlewhorls, game counters or tally counters (Crummy 1983, 93–4). Evidence for the latter consists of a relief from Trier showing a man moving discs on a tray, interpreted as counters on a reckoning board (MacGregor 1978, 33; Chardron-Picault 2004, figs 15–16). Either use would suit a counter from Roman Colchester that has the inscription SVPER (upwards, or, this way up) on one face and is abraded on the other from being pushed around on a hard surface (Crummy 1983, fig. 96.2319). Where similar abrasion is seen on one or more surfaces of a recycled sherd a similar use seems likely, but none of those from Period 0 are worn in this way and they may perhaps be best viewed as blanks for spindlewhorls. However, recent studies of pottery counters in France have pointed to the concentrations found in both sanctuaries and artisanal quarters and have suggested that they were manufactured for use as votive offerings (Tuffreau-Libre 1994; Chardron-Picault 2004, 335–7). The strong link between intact, near-intact and pierced pottery vessels and ritual practices on Insula IX makes this latter an attractive possibility (Fulford 2001, 201–7).

Weighing

Two small lead discs from Pit Groups 1 and 14 may be weights for measuring precious metals (perhaps for coins?), valuable spices, or the components of salves or other medicaments. There is limited evidence for lead-working on the site, and they may be by-products of a small-scale local industry.

Literacy

While graffiti and coin legends provide the greatest evidence for literacy in late Iron Age Britain (Sealey 2007), two styli from Insula IX can be added to the growing number of pre-conquest, or probable pre-conquest, examples. One is of a type that dates to no earlier than the early first century A.D. and came from the primary fill of Pit 11701 in Pit Group 2. The other is a plain and long-lived form found in the fill of a ditch of Trackway 2 and in this context may date to the conquest period. Pre-conquest styli have so far been found on only two sites, Silchester and Puckeridge-Braughing. Two fragments of iron styli came from late first-century B.C. to *c.* A.D. 40/50 contexts on Silchester's forum basilica site (Richards 2000a, 360, 373, fig. 172.139–40), and at Puckeridge-Braughing two iron stylus fragments came from Augustan contexts and three bone styli of typical late first-century B.C. to early first-century A.D. form from Augusto-Tiberian contexts (Partridge 1981, 61, fig. 26.2; Jackson 1988, 74, nos 55 and 57; Greep 1988, 85, fig. 56.1–2; 2002).

Trow (1988, 157–9) put forward various hypotheses to explain the high status of the Puckeridge-Braughing site, 'royal' centre, port-of-trade and market, all of which could be equally pertinent to Silchester. The link between the latter and the Roman army, as shown by the presence of hobnails in pre-conquest contexts, adds to the possibility that there was an underlying Roman political agenda at work, 'softening-up' the southern British tribes and scouting the hinterland.

Transport

A large iron buckle-tongue from a ditch of Trackway 2 probably came from a round or rectangular harness buckle, but this is the only item associated here with transport. An iron ring from Enclosure 2 assigned here to Category 18 (Miscellaneous) may come from harness but could equally well be part of a cauldron chain or similar domestic item. There are no vehicle fittings, but an iron goad-prick may have been used to drive oxen (see Animal husbandry, below).

Tools

There are few tools, with most being of uncertain use or too fragmentary for accurate identification. A small metal-worker's punch is listed as Category 15 (see Metal-working, below).

Leather-working is the only craft represented in this category with any degree of confidence, with an iron awl of typical Iron Age form coming from Pit 12462 in Pit Group 1 and one that conforms to Manning's (1985, 39) carrot-shaped, Roman type 1 from Pit Group 14. The use to which bone gouges such as that from Well 10421 were put is uncertain. Based on the degree of polish that they show, it has been suggested that they were weaving tools (Sellwood 1984a, 387; see Textile equipment, above), but use in leather-working as an awl or scraper would also be appropriate.

An enigmatic object made from baked clay from Pit Group 10 has been classed as a tool, perhaps for scoring designs in unfired clay. There are no knives, although the open socket of a large iron tool is probably all that remains of a cleaver or perhaps an agricultural implement, a strip fragment from the top fill of Ditch 11631 may have a utilised edge, another strip fragment from a ditch of Trackway 2 may also be part of a blade, and a degraded piece of iron with a projecting tang or similar extension from Pit Group 8 may be part of a blade or a fitting.

Fittings

Most of the iron structural fittings are probably from demolished wooden buildings, although some may derive from vehicles, storage boxes, chests or other items of furniture. The largest group, although still not particularly numerous, came from the top fill of Ditch 11631 and was perhaps part of the adjacent structures: two joiner's dogs, two split-spike loops, a loop-headed spike, two studs and a damaged object that may be a wall-hook. Another probable wall-hook came from Trackway 1 Post-hole 11120 and joiner's dogs from both trackways and from Pit Group 6, no doubt again originating from adjacent timber structures. An L-shaped lift-key from Trackway 1 Gully 12196 was found in association with Claudio-Neronian pottery and is probably post-conquest. Also possibly post-conquest is a Manning Type 3 (1985, 135) nail with T-shaped head from the fill of Wheel-rut 9750 of Trackway 2. Iron strap fragments in the assemblage tend to be small and their precise function uncertain; a rectangular iron plaque from Pit Group 9 is assigned to the fittings but may be an *ad hoc* repair for Roman scale armour (see Military equipment, below).

A copper-alloy nail with globular head and short shank from Pit Group 2 and a bone hinge-unit from Pit Group 14 derive from wooden furniture. Other copper-alloy fittings are few in number and consist chiefly of studs with heads varying in size from 9 to 20 mm from Structure 10, Post-hole Structures 4/5, a levelling deposit in Trackway 1 and Pit Group 14. Some may have fixed the leather covers of storage boxes in position (cf. Saunders 1985; Niblett 1985, 25–6; Stead and Rigby 1989, 109; Riha 2001, 52), while two from Pit 8580 in Pit Group 14 have riveted shanks that are too short to be driven into wood and would have been fitted to leather-gear. A small rectangular mount from Pit Group 6 was probably also attached to leather. A small hook with a stud for attachment came from Pit Group 14.

Animal husbandry

An iron goad-prick from dump in the top fill of Ditch 11631 may have been used to drive oxen and so could be linked to transport, but other uses included herding cattle or smaller domesticates, and on rural sanctuary sites such as Nettleton, Wilts., and Lydney, Glos., they have been associated with driving animals to sacrifice (Wedlake 1982, 49; Wheeler and Wheeler 1932, 189; Crummy 2011, 130). They are sometimes identified as pen nibs (Birley 2009, 77).

Military equipment

A triple-ribbed, tanged arrowhead was found in the cut of Post-hole 8525 in Trackway 1, along with some Claudio-Neronian pottery. This was the form most used by the Roman army at the time of the invasion of Britain (Manning 1985, 177; Bishop and Coulston 2006, 88, fig. 46) and it is to that period that it can be attributed. A copper-alloy back-plate from a hinged *lorica segmentata* strap-fitting that was found in the top fill of Pit 15128 in Pit Group 10 may also be a conquest-period item, but Silchester's possible pre-conquest military connections might provide another explanation for its presence and loss. A spearhead from the top fill of Ditch 11631 may be conquest-period or earlier, and, given the wide variety of spearhead forms, cannot be assigned to either an indigenous British or Roman milieu. Even more enigmatic is a small rectangular iron plaque from Pit Group 9 that is classed here as a fitting (see Fittings, above) but might be an *ad hoc* repair for Roman scale armour (*lorica squamata*).

Metal-working

There is limited but diverse evidence for the working of iron, lead and copper alloys in the assemblage (see also Allen, Ch. 13). A small piece of probable copper-alloy debris came from the top fill of Ditch 11631 and from Pit 8580 in Pit Group 14, and what may be an offcut or other piece of smithing debris from Pit 11670 in Pit Group 2. Small fragments of lead-working waste came from Trackway 1 features, the fill of Well 13965 and Pit 13685 in Pit Group 5. Iron-working is slightly more prominent, with offcuts from smiths' blanks found in the primary fill of Pit 15142 in Pit Group 10 and in Pit 12462, other probable offcuts in Pit 8580, and a small fragment of what may be iron-forging debris in a ditch of Trackway 2. Also from Pit 8580 is part of an iron bar with curved extension that has been classed as Category 18 (Miscellaneous) but may be smith's debris, such as an unfinished brooch. None of this material occurs in enough quantity to point to a source or sources. The evidence for metal-working tools is largely ephemeral. A smith's small punch from Pit Group 14 has the burred head typical of repeated striking, while part of a stout bar from Pit Group 1 may be part of the shank of another punch and an iron point from one of the post-hole structures may be from either a tool or nail.

Miscellaneous

The multi-purpose or miscellaneous items consist principally of small fragments of copper-alloy or iron wire, bars, strips, shanks or sheet, with no marked concentrations in any one area of the site. A small piece of copper-alloy sheet from Pit Group 5 may be all that remains of a piece of decorative metalwork. Some of the wire fragments may come from needles or brooch pins, but are too small for certain identification. Metal rings and chain links are also grouped here.

Unidentifiable items include a small fragment of worked bone from Pit 8580, a scrap of featureless leather from slump into Well 8328, and a fragment of worked shale from one of the post-hole alignments. Little of the latter remains, but it may come from a vessel.

CONCLUSION

The Period 0 small finds indicate a slow transition in assemblage characteristics from the Iron Age into the later Romano-British periods. The introduction before the A.D. 40s of high-status, continental-made artefacts is well attested in burials and hoards in southern and eastern Britain

(e.g. Stead 1967; 1984; Foster 1986; Hill *et al.* 2004; Crummy *et al.* 2007), and large quantities of Gallo-Belgic pottery and Gallo-Roman brooches were imported into Britain to cater for both elite and more general markets. While such brooches are present in some numbers in Period 0, many more derive from later periods and were probably in use rather than residual (see Ch. 5), and other imported brooch types regarded as typically post-conquest, and certainly otherwise unknown in Iron Age contexts in Britain, were found in Period 0 features. Similarly, some items characteristic of the early Romano-British period, such as bone and metal hairpins and frit melon beads, are certainly absent, but others, notably hobnails from composite leather footwear that are not easily accommodated within a pre-conquest milieu, are present. There is thus no neat — and predictable — transition from a pre- to a post-conquest assemblage, but rather a blurring of the line between the two. The difficult nature of the early stratigraphy makes it still harder to bring this division into focus, so that determining which of the artefacts that would usually be considered as post-conquest were genuinely introduced before *c.* A.D. 43, and which derive from settlement, slowly accumulated backfill or undefined Period 1–2 features has been a serious challenge.

Looking closely at each 'problem' object's position within its feature has allowed most to be set to one side as later than Period 0, yet it seems reasonably clear that some do indeed pre-date the conquest. The hobnails have been discussed above, and they provide a milieu so strongly influenced by the Roman military that other 'problem' objects, such as the Aucissa brooch from the fill of Structure 9 Gully 11133, can perhaps be tentatively drawn back into the pre-conquest period. Other imported items that might be viewed in this ambiguous pre-/post-conquest light are the iron finger-ring fragment and bone hinge-unit fragment from Pit 8580 in Pit Group 14, and the intaglio from Pit Group 1.

With early styli coming from both Puckeridge-Braughing and Silchester's forum basilica, the two examples from Period 0 are more easily accepted as pre-conquest imports, and as with Puckeridge-Braughing (Trow 1988, 157–9), they are strong indicators that Silchester was both a trade hub and a high-status site. Viewed as a whole the Period 0 assemblage is not strikingly wealthy, indeed the high number of small pieces of iron scrap and the comparatively low number of copper-alloy items is indicative of a population that carefully collected and recycled its metalwork, yet the styli alone are evidence for an elite group within Calleva who recognised the importance and usefulness of literacy in the management of economic, and perhaps also social and governmental, affairs. Beyond acknowledging that they represent contact with and acculturation by the Roman world, the identity of the group is impossible to determine; they may be Atrebatan adherents of Verica, Catuvellaunian adherents of Epaticcus (given the use of styli at Catuvellaunian Puckeridge-Braughing), Roman army veterans, or Gaulish merchants. Their affinities may be nebulous, but they add an important socio-cultural gloss to the inhabitants of Insula IX in Period 0.